

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## GHANA IS 17 YEARS OLD

## HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, on March 6, 1974, Ghana celebrated her 17th year of independence. It was an occasion of great moment. In honor of it I would like to share with this House a statement which the Embassy of Ghana has prepared:

GHANA IS 17 YEARS TODAY—MARCH 6, 1974

Since independence 17 years ago, Ghana has made remarkable progress in all fields of development. She has built roads, hospitals, new townships, developed rural electrification and has supplied her people with pipe borne water, and other social amenities. New schools have been built and the old educational system has been changed to reflect the needs of our society.

The Government of the National Redemption Council, led by Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, has shown practical understanding of our problems by injecting strict discipline into the economy. Imports have been controlled to appreciable levels and every effort has been made to boost exports in textiles, wood products, aluminum alloys, processed cocoa products, etc. This has yielded positive results; the high price of cocoa, timber and gold on the world market has also added more inputs into the economy and, as a result, unemployment, inflation and high prices show a downward trend. The third phase of "Operation Feed Yourself" was launched in Northern Ghana recently with the object of increasing agricultural production of food and industrial crops and diversifying Ghana's economy in order to reduce over dependence on cocoa and timber. Ghanaians are determined to make the nation self-reliant and economically viable.

Ghana's economic and industrial policies provide for viable foreign investment and partnership in certain economic areas. The Capital Investment Board provides incentives and liberal concessions to prospective investors who are willing to co-operate with us on equal terms in prescribed areas of operation.

The expansion of Ghana's trade with the United States and other North and South American countries, including the Caribbean, will be vigorously pursued by the National Redemption Council.

With regard to Foreign Affairs, Ghana has continued to build effective links with her neighbors, worked towards a Common Market in West Africa and supported vigorously the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, the Third World, the Non-aligned Group and other regional groups in their efforts to free Africa from colonialism and racialism. Within these organizations, Ghana will continue to join all peace-loving nations in their programmes to raise the living standards of peoples all over the world.

It is our hope and belief that the current achievements of the National Redemption Council will continue to inspire Ghanaians in all walks of life so that Ghana shall be a shining example to all lovers of peace, freedom, justice and human progress.

## THE SENATE VOTE ON CAMPAIGN REFORM

## HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, reason emerged in today's lead editorial in the Washington Post. The editorial represents a real breakthrough in the paper's attitude on public financing of elections.

The Post finds it "premature and unfeasible" to extend "the concept of public financing to general and primary elections for all Federal offices."

The Post says:

It can't be done . . . And very possibly it shouldn't be done at all.

A lot of us here have said that same thing for a long time.

One wonders what the Post, after beating the drums for public financing for over a year, does want. Today's editorial says, in effect, no public financing of congressional elections. It almost says, or at least its italics hint, no public financing for Presidential primaries.

If that's what it really means, then the Post is apparently supporting the public financing section of Chairman Hays' draft election reform bill. That proposal is now receiving consideration in the House Administration Committee.

The Post article follows:

## THE SENATE VOTE ON CAMPAIGN REFORM

First the Senate broke the filibuster. Then it broke the bank. By a vote of 53 to 32, it passed a campaign financing reform bill on Thursday that is awesome in its ambition and its potential effect. As with most matters that inspire awe, both however, admiration and apprehension are both called into play. Admiration seems to us to be merited by the dogged commitment and persistence of that majority of senators who clearly regarded campaign reform as an idea whose time had come. Given the squalid and seemingly endless Watergate-related disclosures concerning the raising and spending of political money, and given the accumulated knowledge of campaign corruption that predated this whole sorry affair, the American public has both desired and deserved evidence that its elected representatives were prepared to do something substantial about it.

The objective has been to break up the futile and unhealthy relationship between money and elective office that has been institutionalized in our political system. The Senate, in legislation previously passed, took some important steps toward this objective. Among them were financial disclosure provisions, the establishment of limits on campaign expenditures and contributions and the creation of much needed independent enforcement machinery. The newly passed bill includes these crucial features and it also improves the law governing current public financing of presidential general election campaigns, removing the all-or-nothing condition that hedges the existing tax check-off plan. The result is that, under the new bill's terms, a presidential candidate would be free to mix public and private funds up to the prescribed expenditure limit.

All this seems to us to be to the good, as does the general reforming spirit in which the legislation was contrived and passed. Which brings us to our apprehensions—and

they are strong. We will leave aside for the time being reservations concerning certain lesser features of the legislation which are probably, in any event, likely to vanish before final enactment of any reform. The central aspect of the bill which we find disturbing is the premature and (we think) unfeasible extension of the concept of public financing to general elections and primary elections for all federal offices. In our view, it can't be done—not all at one bite. And very possibly it shouldn't be done at all. The point is that the experience of the public, of candidates for office and of federal election officials with this type of financing is so limited as to be practically nonexistent, and the potential for chaos, new corruption, inequity and abuse would be enormous should legislation go into effect providing at one fell swoop even limited public funds for some 900 congressional candidates—not to mention for their challengers in the primaries.

It is generally conceded that this prospect stands little chance of becoming a reality, owing to the fact that the Senate's exuberance for comprehensive legislation on this issue seems matched only by the snails pace hesitation and reluctance of the House—or at any rate of the House Administration Committee where campaign reform legislation now reposes and which is presided over by Ohio's Representative Wayne Hayes. Not only are Mr. Hayes and other key House members opposed to anything like the sweeping public financing section of the newly passed Senate bill, they are not even agreeable to the essential provisions, such as that establishing independent enforcement machinery, which the Senate has previously committed itself to. It is conceivable that out of this rather unpromising situation—too much *versus* too little, too soon *versus* too late—some kind of good and useful compromise legislation could emerge. But that is a possibility which presupposes a degree of restraint on one side and an infusion of spirit on the other that is by no means guaranteed. There is, at this point, at least equal reason to suppose that the outcome will be nothing—or an amalgam of some of the worst and least well-matched features of the efforts of the two bodies of Congress.

Since President Nixon has already threatened to veto any measure with public financing features of a consequential sort, it would seem obvious that the only chance of enacting a sound reform in this Congress—with a sound start on public financing—resides in the achievement of a strong and sensible Senate-House bill that is practical and manageable as a start on long-range, comprehensive reform and which enjoys a strong measure of support in both bodies. To the extent that the Senate's action on Thursday evinced an overwhelming dedication to campaign reform here and now, it is good news. To the extent that it may make more difficult the emergence of the required kind of bill, it is not.

CAPT. HOUSTON GORDON  
RECEIVES CITATION

## HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend Capt. Houston Gordon, of Covington, Tenn., upon receiving the U.S. Army Meritorious Service Medal. The

award is the highest one given to an officer of Captain Gordon's rank by the Army Legal Services Agency. It is reserved for those who provide outstanding service to the Army or to an individual soldier.

While in the U.S. Army, Houston defended Lt. William Calley before the U.S. Army Court of Appeals.

The Covington, Tenn., Leader, printed an article on Captain Gordon, the text of which follows:

Captain J. Houston Gordon, son of Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Gordon of Covington, was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal by the United States Army last Wednesday. Gordon is married to the former Charlotte Stitt of Covington.

"This award is the highest commendation given by the United States Army Legal Services Agency to an officer of Capt. Gordon's rank and is reserved for only those who provide exceptional service to the Army or the individual soldier," said Capt. Denis E. Hynes, Gordon's supervisor for the past two years.

Capt. Gordon served in the Defense Appellate Division of the Judge Advocate General's Corps. He was assigned there after graduation from the Basic Class at the Judge Advocate General's School in Charlottesville, Va., in January, 1971.

Capt. Gordon was selected from a group of 25 officers to represent Lieutenant William L. Calley in the appeal of his court-martial conviction for premeditated murder in connection with the My Lai incident in 1968. It was one of the most celebrated cases ever tried by a court-martial.

Capt. Gordon was credited with preparing an exhaustive appeal before the United States Army Court of Military Review. Capt. Gordon read the 5077 page record of trial and nearly 10,000 pages of exhibits and had drafted substantial portions of the appellate pleadings.

The citation read in part, "Capt. Gordon's preparation of the written pleadings was painstaking and his efforts resulted in one of the most exhaustive and comprehensive legal briefs ever filed with the military appellate courts. His oral presentation before the United States Court of Military Review were exemplary in every respect and serve as a model of appellate advocacy."

Capt. Gordon graduated from Byars-Hall School in Covington and received a B.S. degree from the University of Tennessee at Martin in 1968. He graduated from the U-T College of Law with a B.D. degree in 1970 and finished the George Washington University National Law Center in Washington, D.C., with a LL.M. in 1973.

#### POTENTIAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH SENSITIVITY TRAINING

**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the concluding part of Prof. James Likoudis' article on sensitivity training:

THE MENACE OF SENSITIVITY TRAINING:

THE MIND MANIPULATOR

(By Prof. James Likoudis)

Such efforts to provide "intensive group experiences," or "peak experiences," to attain "new levels of open behavior," greater "awareness," "greater honesty and authen-

ticity" and "intimacy" in interpersonal relationships, "a higher level of consciousness" are obviously (since their participants are usually unaware of the group dynamics set in motion to manipulate them) coercive attempts to change human personality. As Prof. Birnbaum explains: "The devilish seductivity of human relations training stems from the fact that it can reduce individual resistance to change more effectively than any other known means."

No wonder, therefore, that opponents of Sensitivity Training continually characterize it as "mind-bending," "brain washing," "manipulative thought reform," "organized thought control" and "Group Tyranny." Whatever the claimed goals of Sensitivity Training: namely, love, trust, openness of communication, and a greater sensitivity to the feelings or "felt needs" of others, expert testimony is conclusive that Sensitivity Training all too often constitutes a "perversion of group therapy that can make healthy minds sick" and "a totalitarian intrusion" on man's personal privacy and religious dignity. Time magazine has fulsomely described the "T-group bums" endlessly circulating the so-called "human growth centers" and the "alarming numbers of refugees from reality" who, exhibiting their "new sensory awareness," "leave their wives, families, jobs and communities." (op. cit.)

Where adults are concerned, as Prof. Birnbaum mentions, the dangers and difficulties of Sensitivity Training are many. He notes among other things:

"Even at its most effective, the encounter session is a shocking and bruising experience. . . . 'Confrontation sessions . . . evoke profound guilt feelings among participants by employing the tactics of staged aggression. . . ."

"The most serious threat to sensitivity training comes first from its enthusiastic but frequently unsophisticated supporters, and second from a host of newly hatched trainers, long on enthusiasm or entrepreneur expertise, but short of professional experience, skill, and wisdom."

" . . . Changing individual behavior and organizational structure are extraordinarily difficult and thorny objectives. . . . The longer one works in the field of planned change, the more difficult the task appears."

" . . . Because some of these (non-verbal) exercises involve body contact of a quasi-intimate nature, it is questionable whether students, especially teen-agers, should be so encouraged. Under normal circumstances, teenagers do not need the sanction of the school to become so engaged." (op. cit.)

These critical comments of Prof. Birnbaum added to the studies of expert psychologists and psychiatrists marking "a rather high incidence of psychopathological reactions in participants of T-groups." (Dr. Frank J. Ayd, Jr.), would seem to utterly rule out the introduction of any Sensitivity Training in our children's schools. But the opposite is the case! Sensitivity Training has spread like wildfire in both public and parochial schools—to the consternation of concerned parents. Oftentimes teachers without the knowledge or consent of School Boards and principals will use these procedures on their unsuspecting students. Sensitivity Training is particularly utilized in schools which have usurped the prerogatives of parents in the matter of Sex Education. It is important to remember that human personalities cannot be manipulated in the direction of accepting the changes determined by Liberal and Radical educators without changing these persons' sexual morality. One social scientist put it very well when he accurately perceived: "Total control of a human personality hinges on the control of his sexuality"—which should give one second thoughts at the spread of government sex education in our public schools. Such "education" is

clearly intent upon promoting public acceptance of the contraceptive mentality, the unspeakable practice of abortion, population controls, and, as Mr. Bewar openly avows, a more tolerant and permissive view of sexual deviations. Sensitivity Training via Sex Education reeks with the spirit of an unbridled sensualism.

Sensitivity Training has penetrated many schools with its ethos of permissiveness. Sensitivity Training insists, in fact, upon a permissive atmosphere—one in which students are to be free to express themselves. Psychodrama and role-playing require students to divulge home-family situations, and family and parental authority are undermined by their being subjected to group scrutiny and the judgment of the peer-group (which, in turn, is being manipulated by the teacher-trainer!). Assignments will include writing diaries or essays revealing the students' innermost feelings and attitudes. Self-confession or self-criticism (or group confession) comes into play here. Students may volunteer for Peer Analysis (criticism by classmates) and are encouraged to make those personality changes deemed by the class to be necessary. The "Discussion" method is relied on primarily to steer students to accept, generally, more liberal views on sex, abortion, narcotics, the "generation gap," war, poverty, race, the growth of governmental functions, etc. etc.

Insofar as Sensitivity Training is based on the declared failure of parents and society ("the system") to deal with the "new Technological age," pronounced revolutionary expectations are inculcated in the sensibilities of students. New visions of "democratic man" and a "scientific-democratic order for the future" emphasize the obsolescence of traditional morality, traditional organized religion ("the Institutional Church"), and the traditional American system of politics. Education must be made relevant by a revolutionary restructuring that will meet the needs of a Cultural Revolution which is total in scope. The result is the "Romantic Religion" which grips our schools today. A leading Canadian critic of progressive education, Dr. James W. Daly of McMaster University, has given us a colorful picture of this "Romantic Religion" which has, in turn, eagerly embraced the revolutionary phenomenon of Sensitivity Training:

"Every once in a while a new religion appears on the human scene. The generation that witnesses its appearance is in for stirring times, as incense rises around new altars, devotees chant strange incantations, and glittering temples produce a new skyline. . . . It is complete with everything that we have come to associate with the ecclesiastical forms of traditional Christianity."

"Its god is children, its dogma the free development of the individual, its priests the educational experts and critics who preach the Good News of liberation."

"Like any priests worth their salt, they have miraculous powers, and are able to change failure into success merely by defining it as such, and bad work into good by the same magical operation."

"It has a devil, which is the intellectual and moral structure heretofore imposed by the adult world on the young. Naturally, it has a hell for the devil to inhabit, and that hell is the here and now, the actual educational world through which we have come."

"To keep things symmetrical, it also has a heaven, that Consciousness Three toward which we must all strive by emptying our minds of rational inhibition. And it has its own Commandments, the first and greatest of which is, 'Thou shalt not say 'Thou shalt not' to young people.'"

" . . . The Creed of this church involves a confidence in the natural or instinctive powers and desires of children, and a corresponding suspicion of anything imposed



upon the free-flowing expression of those powers or desires.

"... And faith our romantics have, in plenty, a faith so complete that any evidence which might prove their theories defective is by that very fact assumed to be false.

"Do tests or examinations show lack of knowledge in their students? The tests are a fault. Abolish them.

"Do students speak poor English? Grammar is unimportant, and so-called poor English is merely a dialect.

"Are students unprepared to shoulder responsibility later in life? Most work is meaningless drudgery and the young are right not to do it well. Etc., etc.

"... It radiates a bland secular humanism, a vague conviction that people ought to be nice to people, without supplying any reason for this essentially religious imperative. ... Romantic education now looms as the educational church of the future. ... (Toronto Daily Star 7-6-72)

The Romantic School has been elevated to a lofty position indeed. As the agent of social change (designed to effect behavioral changes in youth through a combination of guidance, counseling, occupational training, instruction in basic education, sex instruction and sensitivity training)—it impinges on the growing student at every turn, determined to shape his entire consciousness. In the judgment of the Staff Review Committee of the Maryland State Superintendent of Schools, for example, "The public school is a positive intervening agent in the life of an individual and presents a higher code of ethics than prejudicial homes or communities." (quoted in *Catholic Current* 4-30-71)

There we have, neatly expressed, the totalitarian pretensions of the modern school vis-a-vis parental rights in education. Such a school does not hesitate in the least to use the highly questionable and dangerous techniques of Sensitivity Training to educate youngsters beyond the religious moral political and social values of their parents. This revolutionary role of the school in undermining the influence of home and church has caused the most intense dissatisfaction with both public and parochial schools throughout the United States. Thus the increased efforts of parents to establish independent private schools that will be free from the abominations of sex education, forced sensitivity training, and the spirit of pagan permissiveness.

Parents would do well to acquaint themselves with the illustrations of Sensitivity Training and Group Dynamics found in the curricula and practices of their schools. For example, in the N.Y. State Education Mental Health Curriculum (under which sex instruction has been cleverly subsumed), we read:

"Have children write a short autobiography, telling name, age, birthday, family structure, etc." (K-3 grades)

"Have pupils tell about themselves through 'role playing' ... Have a problem box into which pupils might deposit brief descriptions of problems they have in getting along with people their own age and with members of their own family. These may be used as a guide to classroom discussions. ..."

"Create a situation where members of class would play the roles of siblings in conflict."

"Discuss reasons for such feelings as jealousy toward the new baby; hate, anger, fear, resentment, etc."

"Role-play tension arousing situations. Discuss the possible solutions." (these above involve Grades 4-5-6)

"Ask the question: If you were a parent, in what way would you be similar to, or different from, your parents?"

"Have members of the class play roles of siblings in conflict. ..."

"Have students list or 'role-play' their values regarding appropriate areas—for example,

family relationships, relations with people outside the family."

"Use the homogeneous discussion Circle to demonstrate the feelings of each sex toward the other. Place all boys in the center of the circle to discuss their feelings and attitudes, with all the girls on the outer circle as listeners. Then switch." (these involve Grades 7-8-9 with the last listed under *Factors influencing Dating Behavior*.)

The following are a few examples of Sensitivity Training devices which saturate the *Becoming a Person* sex education program which has been widely adopted in Catholic Schools. The teacher is informed in the Teacher's Manual for Grade 7:

"Have the students arrange (their moveable desks) so that they can face and see each other. This is a real advantage during some discussions. Have the students place themselves in a semi-circle, or a horseshoe configuration; or perhaps the rows could turn left and the other half could turn right, so both sections face the center of the room. These chair arrangements have symbolic value. They make the discussion time 'different,' a time when the teacher assumes more of a listener-participant role, when the students do not have to be inhibited by the fear that their responses have something to do with their marks or grades." (p. xxiii)

"Try having one half of the class wear red ribbons, one half blue one's and make a rule that no blues speak to any reds for one day. Or apply the rule to all redheads, if there are any in your class. The teacher should participate, too, by assuming one side or the other." (p. 9) (Of this writer's extensive critique of the *Becoming a Person* series in *Fashioning Persons for a New Age?* Catholics United for the Faith, 222 North Ave., New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801—60c copy)

Perhaps no other author has depicted the dangerous character of Sensitivity Training and its absurdities as the renowned Catholic philosopher, Dr. Dietrich von Hildebrand:

"When I witness these modern superstitions, these insane illusions for improving the personality and for helping man to 'grow,' I would not be surprised if tomorrow, someone proclaims as a great new discovery the desirability of regular visits to a brothel—a wonderful combination of a refined sex education and sensitivity training—in order to make a man more aware of his neighbor, more filled with community sense, more sensitive, and more liberated from all inhibitions.

"The worst and most depressing part of all this is that the disastrous and insane superstition of sensitivity ... have begun to infect Catholics. They believe themselves to be progressive and scientific if they enthusiastically accept the most nonsensical superstitions—for no other reason than they happen to be fashionable at the present moment.

"Catholics, especially priests and religious, have had ample occasion to be familiar with the truth of the Depositum Catholicae Fidei (deposit of Catholic faith) with the glory of the life of the saints, with the moving depth of the writings of the great mystics, with the true ways of inner growth: the overcoming of our sinful tendencies, the reaching of true freedom from all illegitimate inhibitions, the being liberated from fear, discouragement and inferiority complexes which the imitation of Christ offers. It now seems incredible that such Catholics should be impressed by the diabolical manipulation with souls. The techniques and 'cures' of Sensitivity Training are absolutely incapable of helping anyone attain a real growth of soul ... (for) Christ alone can heal all wounds, perversions, and distortions in our souls." (*The superstition of Sensitivity Training*—an address, C.U.F., 222 North Ave., New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801—25c copy)

In the above remarks Dr. von Hildebrand may be said to have singled out—at the deepest level of analysis—the fundamental

heresy underlying Sensitivity Training: namely, the denial of original sin and its effects upon human personality and the parallel necessity of supernatural grace to restore authentic communion with God and community with one's fellow men. Christ does not elevate our human nature to supernatural perfection by means of group psychology, but rather by sanctifying and actual grace given through prayer and the sacraments of the Church.

Therefore, from a religious perspective (which alone may be said to safeguard adequately today the human person from the idolatries of modern secular humanists), Sensitivity Training is an ersatz religion, a pseudo-mysticism, a modern offshoot of that ancient Pelagian heresy which denied the healing power of divine grace in establishing authentic love and communion with other persons. It stands condemned as an enthusiastic Gnostic cult practiced by romantic educationists who preach a utopian gospel of salvation through emotional and psychological regression! The sober conclusion of von Hildebrand should burn itself into the consciousness of all those charged with the moral formation of Catholic children:

"Let us not be fooled. Sensitivity Training, like sex education in the classroom, is a diabolic attack on man's nature and dignity, and especially on his vocation as a Christian. ... It destroys dignity, spiritual freedom, veracity, moral responsibility, and holy bashfulness, and it thereby undermines our life as Christians, our relation to Christ, and the sanctification to which we are called. Let us fight with all our means to insure that Sensitivity Training never becomes a part of education in our schools or in any religious communities." (*Op cit.*, p. 16)

Mr. Speaker, I commend this article to all my colleagues, particularly the members of the House Committee on Education and Labor, and to all who are interested in sincerely learning some of the facts on this matter.

#### THE PRESIDENT CHOSE HIS TAX RETURN AUDITORS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, if my mail is an indication, a few citizens question the Joint Internal Revenue Taxation Committee's decision in the case involving President Nixon's 1969, 1970, and 1972 Federal income tax returns.

I recently exchanged letters with a constituent on this matter. I believe the exchange is worth recording in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

APRIL 5, 1974.

Congressman DONALD FRASER, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I read that a hand picked committee has assessed damages of \$472,000.00 to be paid by the President to the Internal Revenue Service.

Would you please give me the names of these persons with addresses, occupations and political affiliation if available.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Very truly yours,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C., April 9, 1974.

DEAR —: Thanks for your letter on the President's tax returns investigation.

The committee which studied the President's returns was the Congress' Joint Internal Revenue Taxation Committee. This is a permanent committee which serves both the House and the Senate in drafting and analyzing tax legislation.

You referred to this committee as "hand picked." If this term is accurate at all, the person who "hand picked" the investigators was Mr. Nixon. I quote from his letter to the Joint Committee:

"In order to resolve these issues [questions concerning his tax returns] to the full satisfaction of the American people, I hereby request the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to examine both of these transactions and to inform me whether, in its judgment, the items have been correctly reported to the Internal Revenue Service."

Although the request was most unusual, the Committee agreed to conduct the investigation.

Enclosed is an insert from the Congressional Record [April 8, 1974, p. 10062] with some information about the committee staff. As the article points out, this committee is highly regarded by congresspersons for the professionalism of the staff.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DONALD M. FRASER.

#### EBRASKA WATTS, OHIO TEACHER OF THE YEAR

#### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my privilege to serve as guest speaker at a banquet given in honor of Mrs. Ebraska Watts, Ohio Teacher of the Year. Mrs. Watts is a good friend of mine whom I have known all my life. I am very pleased that she has received the recognition which she so richly deserves. She is the pride of the East Cleveland Public Schools, and the East Cleveland School Board and Leonard Visci, superintendent of schools, are to be commended for the very fine banquet they sponsored in her honor.

I would like to share with my colleagues the story of this remarkable woman, Ebraska Watts. Accordingly, I offer to the RECORD this short biography of a very warm, imaginative, and dynamic teacher, Ebraska Dalton Watts:

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Life for Ebraska Dalton Watts has been a steady uphill climb, but she has traveled in high, seldom shifting gears, and with plenty of spark to get over the knocks. It will be extremely difficult for her to slow down to a pace of 50 mph to conserve energy. Her determined drive from childhood has brought her to a destination with distinction, "The Ohio Teacher of the Year". There can be no doubt that after fifty-three years, "Ebraska Dalton Watts has overcome!"

She was born on June 15, 1920, in a little white house at 142 Green Top Street in Hartsville, Tennessee. She was the fifth child in a family of six, three girls and three boys. The family moved to Cleveland in 1923, where her father died in 1925, and her mother, who had only an eighth grade education, was left with the difficult task of raising six children ranging in age from three to twelve. She did a great job! All the children graduated from Central High

School, and three of them received Masters Degrees.

They lived in the Ghetto, but didn't feel poor. They always had good food, good clothing and a clean house. The family sat down together for meals, at a table that was fully set with paper napkins and occasionally flowers.

As a child, Ebraska was the organizer on the block, writing and producing backyard shows, playing school, planning picnics, and organizing clubs. She had a very happy childhood!

She attended various elementary schools in the Central Area, they moved a lot, and entered the famous Central High School in the seventh grade in September, 1932, graduating with honors in June, 1937. Her many high school activities indicated the versatility of her interests and talents.

She married her childhood sweetheart a month before her eighteenth birthday. They had two children, Emery, Jr., born May 9, 1939, and Joyce, born January 10, 1941. Her husband entered the armed services in March 1941, and they were divorced in January, 1945. Now she was faced with the difficult task of raising her children without a father.

She lived with her mother for the next ten years while she was on welfare, did housework, and finally in 1950 enrolled at Fenn College in the evening school. She graduated with a B.A. degree in Sociology in June, 1959, with an enviable academic and activity record, although she was working full time and caring for her children. She had the highest scholarship in the School of Arts and Sciences, Evening School, Class of 1959.

While working at Mather Day Nursery for The Day Nursery Association of Cleveland, Mrs. Watts decided that she wanted to be a teacher and enrolled in Western Reserve University. The Day Nursery Association paid one half of her tuition. She received a Masters Degree in Education in June, 1963. At last she could teach in the public schools, and for the last ten years she has been doing just that in addition to being an extremely active member of her church and community organizations.

Ebraska Watts has come a long way up the road from the ghetto. She has boundless energy, joy and zeal, and sets a good example for students, teachers, and parents. She has known poverty and has overcome. Ebraska came "up by her bootstraps" and as a kindergarten teacher it is fitting that she should help many more children with their boots.

#### EDUCATIONAL AND CIVIC SERVICES

Received a Martha Holden Jennings Summer Teacher-Leadership Award in 1972. This project was a "Summer Fun School" for forty youngsters, ages four to twelve. Fifteen teen-age helpers and two adult assistants also participated. The project was held at Parkwood Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in the Glenville area.

Received another Martha Holden Jennings Summer Teacher-Leadership Award in 1973 (the first teacher in East Cleveland to receive the Award twice). This time, she directed a unique and innovative class for preschoolers and their parents, with ten teen-age assistants.

Active in Parkwood Christian Methodist Episcopal Church since she was nine years old, serving as: Sunday School teacher, Superintendent of Young People's Department, President and Secretary of Women's Missionary Society, District Director of Young People, Director of Christian Education, Administrative President of Board of Directors of Parkwood Church Community Developmental Complex. In 1969, she chaired the Church's 50th Anniversary Celebration, a week-long series of events, including a Pageant written by Mrs. Watts, depicting the Church's history, a Senior Citizen's Night, Youth Night, Musical Extravaganza, Picnic, and Formal Banquet.

At Marty B. Martin School in Cleveland, she wrote and directed two Spring Festivals. At Chambers School in East Cleveland, she has successfully produced a Kindergarten Circus every other spring, to which all students and parents and kindergarten classes of other East Cleveland schools have been invited.

#### PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Member of the Social Studies Curriculum Committee, East Cleveland, 1968-1969.

Member of the Kindergarten Curriculum Committee, East Cleveland, 1970-1973.

Member of Board of Trustees of HELP for Retarded Children and Chairman of its Personnel Committee, 1969-1971.

Treasurer of Board of Trustees of Cleveland State Alumnae Association.

Parent Teacher Association.

North Eastern Ohio Teachers' Association.

Ohio Education Association.

East Cleveland Education Association.

#### CAMPAIGN REFORM

#### HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in light of the 1972 election and specifically the illegalities and misuses of the electoral process, never before has campaign reform been more called for. The Christian Science Monitor printed a superb editorial on April 3, 1974, concerning the need for campaign reform, and I am honored today to insert this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I believe it adequately deciphers the situation, and the individual way in which the different campaign reform bills now pending in Congress would help to clean up our elections. The article follows:

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Campaign reform, made daily more imperative by the continuing flood of disclosures of massive abuses during the 1972 campaign, is not moving ahead through the Congress as fast as we would like. But it is moving. And prospects are reasonably good for a healthy reform bill.

The legislative situation is as follows:

The Senate has before it a comprehensive reform bill which was approved by the Rules Committee last month. It has been on the floor of the Senate for the last week. Sen. James Allen of Alabama, who was outvoted by the Rules Committee 7-to-1, is running a sophisticated filibuster effort on the floor. The first stage of his delay campaign was to offer a series of amendments. Fortunately these were defeated. He may next try to provoke a series of cloture votes and delay action long enough so the senators may feel compelled to move on to something else. The public should support a cloture move to cut short delay and let the Senate vote on the bill on its merits.

In the House, too, public backing is needed to keep campaign reform action going. The House is considering two bills. The first, the Anderson-Udall bill which was submitted to the House last year, embraces most of the Senate bill's desirable campaign reforms. The second bill is that emerging from the House Administration Committee under Chairman Wayne Hays. The Hays bill appears to be shaping up as a version asking the least change—but unfortunately it, not the Anderson-Udall bill, will be the basis for House action. Thus the task in the House will be to beef up the eventual Hays bill in



the three areas it appears likely to be weak—in providing for a strong enforcement arm under an independent Federal Election Commission; in making sure campaign spending limits are set high enough so that rivals will have a fair chance to unseat incumbents; and in providing public financing for congressional as well as presidential races.

Representative Hays only a couple of weeks ago seemed determined to clamp procedural restrictions on his bill so the House would have to pass it or reject it, without democratic debate and amendment. Fortunately, after a stiff public rebuke catalyzed by a full-page Common Cause ad, Representative Hays has reportedly decided to let his committee's bill get the review by the House that it needs.

#### ITS SHAPE

What are the campaign finance reforms it is now hoped Watergate will bring?

Reform advocates put them into four main groups:

1. An independent enforcement body. Both the Senate bill and the Anderson-Udall bill would create a Federal Election Commission (FEC) with its own power to prosecute offenders. The Hays bill would omit the FEC and would leave enforcement in the Justice Department. The Nixon proposal would create an FEC, but would follow the Hays bill in leaving enforcement to the Justice Department. A conflict is posed by having the Justice Department—a Cabinet department within the executive branch shown vulnerable to political pressure by Watergate—police election finances. Reform advocates think the Senate/Anderson-Udall provision for independent enforcement will likely be passed.

2. Limits on contributions. The amount individuals or interest groups could contribute to campaigns varies in the Senate, Anderson-Udall, Hays, and Nixon versions. But limits appear likely to pass. The Senate bill would allow individuals to give a candidate \$3,000 for a primary race, another \$3,000 for the general election, for a total of \$6,000 per candidate. An individual could give no more than \$25,000 for all campaigns he wanted to cover. In the various versions, interest groups—such as the political action committees of business, labor, and public interest organizations—could be limited to a ceiling ranging from \$2,500 to \$6,000 in contributions to single candidates. But they could give in all House and Senate as well as presidential contests, without the \$25,000 aggregate limit individuals would face.

3. Limits on campaign spending. The Nixon administration is against limits on campaign spending; the Hays and Senate versions include them, using different formulas. The Hays bill would set a \$20 million limit on a presidential race, which appears a sufficient sum. But it would set a low House race ceiling, say of \$50,000 or \$60,000. Since in most recent tight House races spending passed the \$100,000 mark, the low ceiling has been dubbed an "incumbents protection act" by reform advocates. Ironically, then, reformers want to keep campaign spending high enough so that incumbents don't swap the 2-to-1 advantage they now hold in attracting funds, for a law that would keep challengers from mounting a viable campaign.

4. Public subsidies for primary and general elections. Emerging proposals vary on this issue. The administration opposes any mandatory or voluntary public financing for any election. The Hays bill would make public financing of presidential general elections mandatory, the revenue to come from the existing tax checkoff system; but it would skip public financing for presidential primaries or for congressional races. The Senate bill would allow full public funding for presidential and congressional general elections, plus public funds in primaries on a matching basis. Some compromise is likely to develop.

The healthy inflow of tax-checkoff money on federal income tax returns now indicates there would be plenty in the Treasury to pay for a presidential primary and general elections in 1976. Raising the money for public funding of all federal elections thus should be no problem.

#### PURPOSE

The purpose of campaign finance reform is to reduce the influence of special interest money-givers to tolerable limits.

Reducing the amount an interest group can give any office-seeker to, say, \$2,500 in a \$100,000 campaign should keep politicians from being pocketed by big givers. When contributors can give as much as \$20,000 or more as they do now, it is much harder for office holders to ignore their wishes.

The purpose of campaign finance reform is not to do away with influence groups, however. Lobbies presenting the views of business or labor or of the environmentalists should have the right to petition congressmen openly and to present their cases to the public. This is democratic procedure.

Nor is the purpose of campaign reform to weaken the present political system and eliminate entirely such rites as the fund-raising dinner. Abuses should be stopped. Interest groups should not be able to buy up seats at party dinners or earmark gifts for specific candidates. Functions like dinners help in rallying the faithful. But with such events as the \$1,000-a-plate Republican and \$500-a-plate Democratic fund-raising bashes in recent days, with most giving coming from interest groups, rallying the voters seems less the goal than ranking in the dollars.

Nor need parties be weakened because candidates would be less dependent on them for financial support. The two major parties have been losing voter allegiance as it is, under the present system. They could perhaps regain influence among thoughtful voters if the parties stressed platform and politics more, and financial power less.

Again, the purpose of campaign finance reform is to hold the influence of money giving to tolerable limits. When 90 percent of campaign contributions come from only 1 percent of the people, as is now the case, too much influence is clearly in too few hands.

#### NATURAL GAS DEAL UNDERLINES THE DANGERS OF DEREGULATION

**HON. CHARLES A. VANIK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous potential dangers of rapid deregulation of natural gas prices was recently revealed in an agreement between Amoco Production Co., a subsidiary of Standard of Indiana, and Cities Service Gas Co., a subsidiary of Cities Service. Under this agreement, Amoco will explore for additional supplies of natural gas in southern Wyoming with Cities Service having the rights to purchase up to 2 trillion cubic feet of any discovered gas. In return for these rights, Cities Service agrees to pay Amoco an increase of 20 cents per 1,000 cubic feet on its existing purchases of gas from Amoco. This price increase, obviously, will be passed directly on to the consumer. In short, this neat "I'll scratch your back, you scratch mine" arrangement between Amoco and Cities Service presents a bonanza opportunity for two oil companies with the consumer as the fall guy. Rather than

seeking conventional financing for this exploration project, Amoco and Cities Service are simply shifting the cost burden directly forward to the users of Cities Service gas.

The projected cost of Amoco's exploration program will be \$32 million. Amoco plans to spread this cost over roughly 3 years. The financing is conveniently arranged by the price increase. Currently, Cities Service buys 100 billion cubic feet of natural gas each year from Amoco. A 20 cents per 1,000 cubic feet price increase will net \$20 million a year for Amoco on existing contracts. That means that over the 3-year duration of Amoco's \$32 million exploration project, Amoco stands to increase its revenue by \$60 million. But that is not all. Also as part of the arrangement, Amoco has agreed to increase its production from existing fields. So, Amoco's \$60 million revenue increase will balloon even further.

In the end, Amoco is guaranteed over \$60 million on a \$32 million investment—regardless of whether any new gas is found. Cities Service receives clear rights to 2 trillion cubic feet of new gas, if it is found, plus an expansion of supplies from existing contracts. The natural gas consumer is left on the sidelines, while he pays an additional \$20 million in utility bills.

Fortunately for the consumer there is a last line of defense. The Federal Power Commission must approve any rate increases. Let us hope for the sake of the consumer, that the FPC sees through this scheme of easy financing for a golden egg project. This scheme of "no chance" of loss to Amoco will simply become an unjust and heavy burden on the customers of Cities Service natural gas in Kansas and Missouri. The principal metropolitan areas which are served by the Cities Service Gas Co. are Kansas City, Mo.; Springfield, Mo.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Wichita, Kans.; and Topeka, Kans. The FPC should reject this blatant attempt to manipulate and trample the natural gas consumers of these cities.

#### FEDERAL DEPOSITS GROW AT ONE MINORITY BANK

**HON. BILL FRENZEL**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, in the January/February 1974 issue of Access, a U.S. Department of Commerce publication from the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, is an article pointing out that Federal deposits have increased by 15 percent at the First Plymouth National Bank of Minneapolis, Minn., a minority bank.

The article further points out that the deposit increase was reached 6 months ahead of the schedule set by the task force of bank and Federal employees working on deposit growth. I congratulate those Federal agencies whose deposits accounted for this growth, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, the Federal personnel involved, the First Plymouth National Bank and its presi-

dent, John Warder. I believe their second 15 percent is going to be easier.

The article follows:

#### FEDERAL DEPOSITS GROW AT ONE MINORITY BANK

Federal Government deposits have increased 15 percent at a minority bank in Minneapolis, Minn. as a result of the efforts of a special task force.

But that's not all the members of the task force had to celebrate when they gathered recently at the bank, First Plymouth National. The group had met its 15 percent increase goal six months ahead of schedule.

The task force is part of the Minority Business Opportunity Committee (MBOC), a working committee of the Twin Cities Federal Executive Board (FEB). It was established in response to a national objective of the FEBs to better utilize Federal resources in response to the needs of the minority business community.

Task force members met initially with First Plymouth President John Warder to discuss possible untapped sources of deposits. Their goal for FY 73/74 was to increase Government deposits in the minority bank by 15 percent (a \$50,000 increase in average daily deposits or total deposits for the year of \$15 million). The first deposit account from the U.S. Customs Service enabled the task force to reach its goal.

Task force Chairman George Carlson, group manager, Internal Revenue Service, said, "We have really only scratched the surface. We are negotiating now on a second \$15 million annual combined deposit from several state and Federal agencies, and we have identified other possible sources of deposits."

Obviously enthusiastic about the task force's success, Bank President Warder sees a number of ways that deposits can be put to work. "The deposits from the U.S. Customs Service will enable us to finance five \$15,000 homes or support loans totaling \$75,000," he said.

First Plymouth is presently very active in the local minority community. The bank also works closely with the Metropolitan Economic Development Association (MEDA), a local business development organization funded by OMBE and the private sector. Charles W. Poe, Jr., MEDA president, is a member of the task force.

"The success of this task force can be attributed to the diverse membership of the group," Carlson said. "By having a broad representation of various Government agencies in the Twin Cities, we are able to identify deposit sources fairly easily." The task force is also broadening its scope to include assisting minority credit unions. The group has identified two, one in St. Paul and one in Minneapolis, and are looking into ways to assist them.

Other members of the task force are: Joseph Anaya, MEDA; Don Finn, Minnesota League of Credit Unions; James Hammill, Federal Reserve Bank; Earl Hampton, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife; John Lynch, MBOC chairman; Marjorie Maki, U.S. Customs Service; Mike Rajacich, Public Safety Department; and Bob Worcester, Federal Reserve Bank.

#### SOLOMON SOLUTION GRACES OPA-LOCKA

### HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, what happened in a recent city election in the 13th Congressional District can serve as a guidepost in human relations. The event

is examined in the following editorial from the Miami Herald:

#### SOLOMON SOLUTION GRACES OPA-LOCKA

Working in highest cooperation—and with a three-year grant—a university's political science and social studies departments would be unlikely to come up with as happy a result as an old-fashioned gentlemen's agreement has in Opa-locka.

The two candidates for mayor wound up in a dead heat for the office, tied at 819 votes apiece. Nobody claimed fraud, nobody demanded a recount; the impending mayors just decided to split the term. Kenton Wells, who is white, will be mayor the first year; Albert Tresvant, who is black, will be mayor the second. Meanwhile both will be city commissioners when they are not mayor.

All it takes, for such an agreement, is a tie vote and a couple of old-fashioned gentlemen.

Neither Kenny Wells nor Al Tresvant played to the emotions of their supporters and by their actions indicated the good of the community was their first concern.

When such men of good will of both races assert such leadership, racial tensions will become a matter of history.

#### CHILD ABUSE

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article which recently appeared in the Education Commission of the State's bi-monthly magazine entitled "Compact," in which Mr. Brian G. Fraser discusses the changes occurring in the law regarding the many aspects of child abuse.

Child abuse has been with us for many years, but efforts are now being made to alleviate it. There are several bills which I have cosponsored concerning the situations which restrict normal development of children into full maturity. These bills, H.R. 6483, H.R. 6818, and H.R. 11328, are pending before the Select Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor and all define the issues and prescribe remedial legislation which would fund programs to provide therapy to those parents who contribute to the deficiencies in their child's growth.

Mr. Fraser's article points out what changes have and should be made in the laws pertaining to child abuse and I wish to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

#### THE TRAGEDY OF CHILD ABUSE—"MOMMA USED TO WHIP HER . . ."

(By Brian G. Fraser)

Nine-year-old Donna S. died last May 1. She had been severely beaten. Fifty per cent of her body was covered with second- and third-degree burns. Donna's father and stepmother were charged with first-degree murder. Her 15-year-old stepsister testified: "Momma used to whip her, mostly on the bottom, but sometimes on the arms and the legs with a belt or a paddle. When she got the burns and the whippings . . . it was either red to purple or black. . . . It was different colors."

According to the court record, Donna suf-

fered continual and systematic punishment in her final weeks: whippings with a plastic brush or having an electric iron placed to her buttocks. The deputy state attorney contended that, two days before her death, Donna's feet and arms were bound with heavy tape and she was placed in a closet for an entire day. When she thumped on the wall to be released, her stepmother complained to her husband and he yelled to the girl to be quiet. On the next day, the attorney added, Donna's stepmother bathed her, put bleach and peroxide on her open wounds and scrubbed the wounds with a scouring pad.

The inscription over Donna's simple grave gives only her name and the dates of her birth and death. In the corner is a small angel. It cost \$150.—Based on reports in the Washington Post.

Tragically, the fate of Donna S. is not particularly unusual. Today we estimate that at least 72,000 children are seriously abused by their caretakers each year. Other estimates put the figure close to 150,000.

Moreover, the statistics refer to a traditional definition of child abuse as "a non-accidental physical injury." This says nothing of the thousands of serious incidences of neglect, sexual abuse and emotional abuse of children that many experts feel may be even more extensive than physical abuse.

More and more, the problem is attracting the attention of legislators, educators and others concerned about the welfare of children. One reason is that information about the extent of child abuse is becoming more readily available.

Until 1962, there were few factual indications that child abuse existed to any significant degree, and it was not until relatively recently that we began to realize how widespread it is. In decades not long past, children's injuries were simply thought to have been caused by accident. Then, and to a certain extent now, people simply could not believe that parents could strike, strangle, molest, burn, fracture, starve or torture their offspring. Today, we are somewhat more sophisticated; we know that they can.

In general, however, society has not only largely failed to recognize the extent of the problem; it has done little to protect the victim after the abuse has been identified.

Western civilization is replete with phrases like "blood is thicker than water," "children should be seen and not heard," "spare the rod and spoil the child" and "a man's home is his castle." In simple terms when parental rights have collided with children's rights, the legal presumption of validity has rested with the rights of the caretaker. Our courts have tacitly recognized these clichés (and the presumption of the validity of parental rights), and for decades they have refused to pierce the veil of family privacy that allows parents to raise and discipline their children in the manner they deem appropriate.

But the law, like other great institutions, is changing. Today we can say that a child has the right not to be abused and the right not to be neglected. These may be negative rights, but they are legal rights all the same. Three states—New York, Colorado and Kansas—provide a special legal guardian to protect these rights in court suits and another 20 states give the child access to legal representation.

However, identification of abuse by a knowledgeable physician is one thing. Trying to define standards that a hesitant court will use to measure a violation of the child's "rights" is another.

In the early 1960s, legislators, lawyers and physicians recognized that they were dealing with a problem of epidemic proportions. Their response was to create mandatory child-abuse reporting statutes. Today all states have laws requiring certain persons to report suspected incidences of child abuse. The original statutes required only physi-



clans to report such cases. As more research material and data became available, however, it became clear that most cases of child abuse involved not a single attack, but a continual battering that became more severe as time went on.

As a result, the reporting statutes were amended in the late 1960s to include other persons within the community who came into early contact with children. For example, 22 states now specifically require teachers to report incidences of suspected child abuse, 26 states specifically require social workers to report such cases and four states specifically require day-care personnel to report.

Another possible responsibility of teachers and schools is to provide students with the information and guidance they need to be sensitive to the issue of child abuse. This can be accomplished in part through "education for parenthood" classes, but many school districts are still reluctant to get involved in such things. People in the community tend to complain and say, "Education for parenthood is our problem; you leave it alone." Other current problems:

Educating all segments of society about how parents can and do abuse their children.

Showing teachers and others how to identify cases of child abuse as early as possible and where to turn for help.

Standardizing the states' response by establishing a uniform system.

Idaho, Florida and New York have taken a rather novel, innovative and educational approach. Each state has advertised (Florida and Idaho through a professional ad agency) in newspapers, pamphlets, billboards and radio and television announcements about child abuse—what it is, how to recognize it and how to report it. Each state advertises a toll-free telephone line, open 24 hours a day throughout the year, to receive all reports (including anonymous reports) of suspected child abuse.

In New York, the WATS operator in Albany has on call one social worker in each county who is available 24 hours a day. If a report indicates suspected imminent danger to a child, the social worker in that particular county is notified and an immediate investigation is made. By law, the social worker is required to make a follow-up report to a central registry in Albany within 7 days, 30 days, 60 days and 90 days until the case has been resolved.

The advertising campaign in all three states seems to have worked exceedingly well. In Idaho, the number of reports in a three-month period was double the number in a comparable period the preceding year. In Florida, reports have risen from 250 in 1971, before the telephone line was established and the advertising campaign initiated, to 28,022 in the year ending Jan. 31, 1973, at the conclusion of the advertising campaign.

And in New York, where the WATS line has been in existence since last September, there were as many substantiated reports during the first month as there were in all of the preceding year. From all indications, it seems that the number of reported and substantiated reports from these states will continue to rise.

Courts, lawyers and legislators also are beginning to recognize that a punitive approach to child abuse may not be pragmatic. In most cases, the act of abuse is not premeditated. It is the result of conditioned behavior that has been learned and passed along from one generation to another. The abusing parent was, in all likelihood, abused himself as a child, and his children, if they are abused, will probably grow up abusing their own children.

A parent who is prosecuted through our state criminal courts is not necessarily helped to recognize his deficiencies or to understand his problem. He is also likely to become more hostile to the efforts of social workers and others to help him.

Thirty-five states make child abuse a specific crime, and the other states may success-

fully prosecute the same under assault-and-battery statutes. But while a jail sentence may satisfy our need for retribution, it does nothing to cure the abusing parent or to stop the vicious cycle of abuse. There must be some form of therapeutic intervention.

A pioneer in developing therapeutic programs is the National Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neglect, located in Denver. In one program it works with abusing parents, helping them to recognize their susceptibility to strike out in times of crisis. In another, a group of "lay therapists" is on call 24 hours a day, serving as a lifeline or rescue operation for abusing parents. The center also has a "crisis nursery" that offers supervised 24-hour care for children during periods of family crisis.

In addition, a multidisciplinary team consisting of a pediatrician, a psychiatrist, a social worker, a psychiatric social worker, a registered nurse and a lawyer is available to decide if abuse has occurred in a particular case, if court action should be taken and what therapy is available and would be beneficial.

The center acts as a training institution, too, teaching newly developing techniques and programs to workers throughout the country.

While every state requires certain persons to report suspected child abuse after the fact, every state seems to define child abuse differently (nonaccidental serious physical injury, nonaccidental injury plus neglect, or sexual or emotional abuse, etc.).

Some states, such as Colorado, go somewhat further and require that conditions or circumstances that would reasonably result in abuse also be reported.

There also is variation in the investigations states require upon receipt of the reports and in the treatment to be offered. Some states provide absolute immunity for persons reporting abuse cases. Others totally abrogate privileged communications in the adjudication of child abuse. Some states grant physicians the right to assume temporary custody of a child when they feel it would be dangerous to send him home.

With all these differences, among others, the Education Commission of the States (ECS) has proposed alternatives for state legislation to help standardize the definitions and procedures for investigations, provide guidelines to protect abused children and provide a free flow of information among the agencies involved.

The ECS statutory proposal expands the definition of child abuse to include nonaccidental physical injury, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and neglect. Other features:

It requires a large number of professionals within the community, including teachers and day-care officials, to report suspected cases of child abuse.

It provides complete immunity from civil and criminal suits to all persons making reports in good faith.

It provides civil and criminal penalties for willful failure to report.

It creates a central registry, with appropriate safeguard, to house reports of child abuse for statistical, diagnostic and tracking purposes.

It allows a physician to take custody of a child he believes would be in danger if returned home and provides the child with a special legal guardian to represent his interests in any subsequent court proceedings.

(Copies of the ECS proposal are available for \$2.50 each from Suite 300, 1860 Lincoln St., Denver, Colo. 80203.)

Federal legislation introduced by Senator Walter Mondale, D-Minn., and signed by President Nixon on Jan. 30 will allocate \$85 million to individual states over a four-year period to combat child abuse. As a condition to receiving funds, however, each state's definition of abuse will have to include the element of neglect, each state will have to provide legal representation for the abused

child, and each will have to attack the problem from a truly multidisciplinary point of view.

With state and federal efforts like those under way, perhaps, there will be far fewer cases like Donna's in the years ahead.

## DON KING—PROMOTER EXTRAORDINAIRE

### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Don King is a Cleveland who has made it big in the boxing world. He has always been controversial and he has attracted the attention of the news media around the Nation. His most recent coup is the Muhammad Ali-George Foreman fight, which will be held in the Republic of Zaire on September 30.

To introduce my colleagues to this extraordinary man I am submitting here three articles from newspapers in Cleveland, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Mar. 31, 1974]

#### KING ALREADY NETS TIDY SUM

(By Dan Coughlin)

Don King, the Cleveland who put together the George Foreman-Muhammad Ali heavyweight championship fight for Sept. 30 in Africa, modestly admitted that his promotion already has turned a \$1.4 million profit.

"Even if nobody shows up to see the fight live in Africa," he revealed.

In six weeks of traveling, King constructed a package that cost his promotional partners nothing, unless you count the government of Zaire, which hopes to buy prestige with the biggest money fight in history.

"The government of Zaire put up \$10 million for the fighters and bought out the stadium for \$1.4 million," King revealed.

All and Foreman are fighting for a flat guarantee of \$5 million each. Their money was first deposited in the New York branch of Barclay's Bank of London. Each fighter was then advanced \$200,000 in cash to cover training expenses. The remaining \$4.8 million each was deposited in their individual bank accounts, Foreman's at the Central Bank of Oakland and Ali's in the Guarantee and Trust of Chicago.

King's odyssey began six weeks ago when he left Cleveland with a letter of credit for \$1 million from Cleveland builder Carl Lombardo and other associates to nail down a commitment in Chicago from Ali. His original intent was to bring the fight to Cleveland, but it quickly outgrew Cleveland's resources.

From Chicago, King's travels went this way: New York, Chicago, Oakland, Chicago, Paris, London, New York, Caracas, New York.

Numerous entrepreneurs came in and out of the picture until King and Hank Schwartz of Video Techniques of New York met with government officials of Zaire in Paris two weeks before Foreman successfully defended his title against Ken Norton in Caracas last Tuesday.

The final lineup of King's partners includes Hemdale, a British conglomerate headed by Londoner John Daley; Risenella of Switzerland; and Telemedia de Panama. This package will market the fight on television.

The fight will be held at 3 a.m. in Africa to accommodate the lucrative television market of the eastern United States and South America, which will witness the fight on closed circuit TV at 10 p.m.

En route to assembling the most expensive single sports promotion in history, King became vice-president of Video Techniques, the closed circuit TV outfit formed 4½ years ago by Schwartz, a New York electronics engineer.

King's association with Video Techniques began last summer when he was grooming two of his own heavyweights, Earnie Shavers and Jeff Merritt, to fight for the title, through King, Video Techniques landed contracts for Foreman's first two title defenses, against Jose (King) Roman in Tokyo and against Norton, matches which King was instrumental in making.

King, 42, a former Cleveland gambling figure who served four years in the penitentiary for manslaughter, has soared to the pinnacle of boxing promotions.

Undoubtedly the fight will be seen by more persons via closed circuit television than either of the Ali-Joe Frazier fights, which held the previous record. Video Techniques is negotiating with Russia to beam the fight live behind the Iron Curtain, which would be a first for boxing. Previously, Russians saw major fights on a delayed basis.

King admitted to some anxieties during the course of his quest, but he insisted none involved Foreman's ability to dispose of challenger Norton.

Had Norton upset Foreman, the multi-millionaire African attraction probably would have collapsed.

King was so confident, in fact that he began leaking news of the African fight last weekend, while Foreman and Norton were still disputing over officials for their fight.

Others, however, were less certain. Cleveland attorney Clarence D. Rogers Jr., the former Cleveland police prosecutor, admitted to some concern.

"I'll be handling the legal work for the fight in Africa," Rogers said as he entered the Music Hall for the closed circuit showing of the Foreman-Norton fight.

King is certain the legal entanglements resulted from the fight in Caracas.

The Venezuelan government promised us there would be no tax at all," King said. "They haven't lived up to their contract. There's no chance it will happen in Zaire."

Foreman and Norton were detained in Caracas last Thursday by customs officials because of a dispute over an 18% income tax. "Essentially, what it amounts to is that they were under house arrest in Caracas. They couldn't leave the city. You can't hold the heavyweight champion for ransom like that. It's an international disgrace. They've embarrassed the country of Venezuela and destroyed tourism."

King said the experience in Venezuela was enlightening.

"We can now bring up questions with the country of Zaire that heretofore we hadn't thought to ask," said King. "In that respect, it was a profitable experience."

King says the fight in Zaire will climax the greatest festival in the country's 14-year history.

"It will be a return home for these two great representatives of their race," King declared.

The question most frequently asked is: Where is Zaire?

Formerly the country was known as the Belgian Congo. The name was changed in 1971 to Zaire, which means "river" and is pronounced "Zi-AIR," according to King. It is located in west central Africa roughly on the Equator.

The fight will be held in a soccer stadium with a capacity of 80,000 in the capital city of Kinshasa, formerly Leopoldville, population 2 million.

King said that in discussion with leaders of Zaire, he concluded that the country is not necessarily seeking tourism, because its natural resources include 70% of the world's diamonds and 90% of the world's bauxite. Prestige was the major factor, said King.

Tourism, however, will receive a major boost as a result of the fight, which will attract thousands of spectators from all over the world, many from the United States. Two tour groups in Cleveland alone already are planning to charter planes.

"It will be a festival like you have never seen," King promised. "It will go on for a month before the fight. You will see all the animals and the mysteries of Africa."

The most ferocious "animal" of all, it was speculated, would be a heavyweight boxer imported from the United States with the name of George Foreman.

[From the Chicago Press]

CLEVELAND'S KING SHOCKS BOXING'S WHITE ESTABLISHMENT

(By Dave Nightingale)

CARACAS, VENEZUELA.—The towering black man in the gold and white suit strode into the conference room where they were about to officially announce that George Foreman and Muhammad Ali would hold a September title fight in the Republic of Zaire.

Somebody handed him a mimeographed sheet of paper. He read it quickly . . . than a wave of anger shot across his impassive face, he crumpled the paper into a ball, flung it across the room and stalked out of the assembly hall.

The paper said the Foreman-Ali fight would be co-promoted by the Hemdale Leisure Corp. and Video Techniques.

And way down on the 15th line, it added: "In association with Don King Productions."

Promoter Don King, a Cleveland, is not about to let himself be declared an "also ran" in the big one. Not on your life, baby!

Hank Schwartz, executive veep of Video Techniques, was hardly blinded to the whole scene. And he tried hard to make amends.

"This paper should have said that Don is a vice president of and major stockholder in Video Techniques," said Hank. "He is mainly responsible for this fight. With the diverse personalities of Foreman and Ali, he was the only one in the world capable of bringing them together. He's a welcome addition to our company and he'll probably have me riding in the back of the bus in a couple of months."

The hair on Don King's head stands straight up—like a caricature of a man who has just received an electric shock. But that's nothing like the shock he's starting to lay on some members of boxing's white establishment.

"Well, I'm the one who is riding in the back of the bus right now," King shot back at Schwartz. "In the interests of our new partnership, I don't want to cause any trouble. But I would remind my partners that I expect to be treated as an equal."

Dick Sadler, Foreman's mouthy manager, broke into some inane chatter at that point and it eased the strain of the moment. But, later, King made no bones about the importance of people not taking him lightly.

"I am the first strong black promoter of national repute," he said, "which, I would like to believe is a tribute to my credibility."

"Sure, I'm a little too flamboyant for some people, but I have to be that way. Doing anything in white America is difficult for a black man. But I'm not trying to drown in my own tears over past injustices. I am very pragmatic. When I got my foot in the door, I kept pushing. And here I am. With this bout, I have arrived."

If, indeed, he has arrived, then Herbert Muhammad (Ali's manager) provided the vehicle, as King is the first to admit.

"I have known Ali for a long time," said King, "and I had made Foreman's acquaintance. When I decided to try for this bout, I naturally went first to the Ali camp—because I knew Muhammad was eager for the fight . . . and because he is my friend."

"During my promotion days (in Ohio), I felt I had established respect and credi-

bility. I had always produced and performed according to my commitments. Herbert Muhammad decided to stand with me. He told me: 'You get Foreman and you got us.' It was finally settled in the simplest method of sincerity, a handshake with both fighters."

Negotiations for the bout started before Ali won his January rematch with Joe Frazier . . . and, of course, before Foreman flattened Ken Norton here Tuesday night. Both victories were "musts," naturally, to produce the \$10 million payday in Zaire.

Unfortunately, the news of the Zaire fight leaked out before Foreman was able to dispatch Norton, a leak that obviously had a decided effect on a rather low Foreman-Norton theater-TV gate.

And the leak was the direct result of a power struggle in the Ali camp between King and Ali's attorney Bor Arum, a white. "I will never work with Arum again," snarled King. "He misled me . . . he misled me . . . he doesn't keep his commitments. (Don alleges that Arum promised him Ohio theater-TV rights for the Ali-Frazier rematch, then reneged at the last minute.)"

"Arum was trying to push Ali into a fight with Jerry Quarry instead of Foreman . . . which I felt would have been bad for Ali. And Herbert Muhammad agreed with me, so we got some quick signatures for the bout in Zaire. (Which means, of course, that Arum is on the outside, looking in.)"

"In regard to my role," said Don King, "in regard to putting the fight in Zaire, we are not trying to shove the white man out of the scene. We are just trying to prove to the world that blacks can do the job with efficiency. And beyond that, with sophistication."

"I think sophistication is the key word, because it is a word that the world is reluctant to associate with black people. The production in Zaire will have that sophistication."

[From the Washington Star-News, Mar. 28, 1974]

COME SEPTEMBER—IN ZAIRE

(By Tom Dowling)

CARACAS.—Video Techniques, Inc., held a press conference at the Hilton Hotel yesterday to announce the "supercolossal" Muhammad Ali-George Foreman match in Zaire, Africa in September, a fight which had already been announced to the world last Sunday. That was boxing for you: three minutes of championship heavyweight fistcluffs a year, interspersed with 364 days, 23 hours and 57 minutes of announcement, each more grotesquely redundant than the last.

Yet, boxing was, in part, a delectable circus precisely because the men who ran, promoted and clung parasitically to the sport were entirely shameless. They could, and in fact would, repeat the same Ali-Foreman information from now until September, adding an outrageous flourish here and there to lend some vitality to the performance. Ah, what rogues and merry andrews they all were.

Sitting at the press conference dais were, from left to right:

Dick Sadler, Foreman's manager with his curious taste for battered haberdashery, who would barely keep a straight face when asked solicitously about the condition of big George's tender knee.

Hank Schwartz of Video Techniques, in his space glasses, houndstooth suit and shaggy head of middle-aged hair, trying to look as entrepreneurially solemn as David Rockefeller.

Bula Mandunga and Dshimpumpu (pronounced to sound like Chief Poo Poo), the two representatives from Zaire in their Chairman Mao suits. Dshimpumpu, who evidently speaks no English, is known as the "Henry Kissinger of Zaire," according to Don King of Video Techniques. As nearly as can be determined, this designation was awarded to Dshimpumpu for his travel schedule, rather than any negotiating feats or polished one-



liners on the cocktail circuit. Bula Mandunga, the spokesman for the Zaire fight delegation, is, like his colleague Dshimpumpu, an assistant to President Mobutu.

Don King, the "new vice president and major stockholder" in Video Techniques, who served as the intermediary, signing Ali and Foreman for Kinshasa's May 20th Stadium. King, a portly former "numbers baron" in Cleveland, was recently released from a four-year manslaughter sentence for, as he good naturedly puts it, "beating up a friend of mine in an altercation which led to incarceration when he expired 11 days later."

Those who have spoken to King here, however, find this incident to be King's most memorable attribute. There are some who give the vote to his Afro, which stands straight up on his skull, like a cartoon figure who has just put a penny in the fuse box. Others are more smitten with King's memorized rhetoric, a combination of gibberish, Mrs. Malaprop and Palgrave's Golden Treasury of English Verse, "No man is an island in the conglomeration of things as the poet John Donne said," King is fond of telling journalists.

These men, if you can believe it, claim to have found \$11 million in backing to put on a championship match, perhaps THE championship match, in Kinshasa. As nearly as could be learned from the smiling, moon-faced, but somewhat acerbic Bula Mandunga, Kinshasa's major claim for being the host for the fight is that its president "is a sportsman and the people are sportsmen."

Hotel, telecommunications and venue considerations remained somewhat obscure. In a brief rundown Mandunga explained that Zaire means "river" in one of the national tongues. Zaire, which gained independence in 1960 under the name Congo, acquired its new moniker in 1971, Mandunga said.

He noted that Zaire would not insist on local referees and judges, a demand which so bedeviled the Foreman camp here. "As far as we're concerned there will be no problem except accommodation." This stroke of candor was not well received by the boxing journalists, who nourished a suspicion that grim as the accommodation picture might be, that was not even the half of it.

For my part, I had to concede that point. Foreman-Ali could well turn Paris and New York into urban versions of Shelby, Mont. You could scarcely expect Kinshasa to weather the onslaught with any greater equanimity.

Still, it takes two to tango. And my own instincts told me that Kinshasa's bedlamite experiences were bound to dwindle into insignificance compared to the chaos wrought by the Schwartz-King handling of the event.

Neither man had ever been to Zaire, had no first hand notion of the facilities on the ground, no apparent inkling of the labor and weather disasters that lay ahead. King's rhetoric—"there will be no Big I, little you. This is a team, locked in determination, efficiency, proficiency in the desire to bring the heritage of America's prodigal sons back to their homeland"—sounded soothing enough in the coffee shop of the Hilton Hotel.

But, his promise to "seek sophisticated expertise from all walks of life to overcome the problems," may ring somewhat hollow in the sweltering lobbies of Kinshasa's hotels, where thousands of visitors face the news that there is no more room at the inns.

Looking at the team up on the dais in the Hilton Hotel salon, you knew that the laughter in your throat would rattle come September. Yet, even though you sensed what lay ahead, the event had an inner logic of its own. Six months of tubthumping announcements for the fight lay ahead. The fascination of it all was too powerful to resist, a suicidal mania that could not be reversed.

They said boxing was a dying sport, Zaire

was its death wish. And the logic of it all said that the appointment there would be kept.

## FEW ADVANTAGES TO THE ELECTORATE

### HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, nowadays it has become fashionable for elected and appointed officeholders to provide information on their personal finances. My personal feeling is that such revelations bring few significant advantages to the electorate, while at the same time they bring some opportunity for political mischief, such as in the Ohio Democratic senatorial primary.

My preference is for sealed disclosures, or general disclosures. The electorate deserves notice of potential conflicts, but not necessarily a penny-by-penny review of family, assets and liabilities. I believe the recent Washington State law requiring complete disclosure of such items as one's partner's law clients is a prime example of overdoing a good thing. It simply meant that a certain class of citizens, lawyers, admittedly overrepresented in legislative halls everywhere, would be less likely to run for office.

In my judgment, the key is potential conflict of interest. Conflicts are not uncovered by the revelation of the amount of one's home mortgage or the listing of equity assets where there is no control, or no significant size of holding.

A few Members, including myself, have been embarrassed when others have held or purchased equities, revealed under House rules, because they thought the Congressman had some special inside information.

With some reluctance I am putting this very general description as of December 31, 1973, in the RECORD. Whoever examines it might want to consider at least the following caveats. Some of the assets noted have no market. Most of the equities are pretty bland, because since elected I have not wanted to purchase banks or other federally regulated companies, construction or building materials companies, oils, et cetera. I hold no tax-exempt bonds now, but I have owned some during my congressional service. That leaves me with some local stuff and some retail firms. It is not the type of portfolio I would recommend to anyone.

None of the holdings amounts to a significant ownership position. I sit on no corporate boards, hold no management positions, and participate in no decision-making. My counsel is not sought by business managers. I do receive income from some of these assets. I receive no income for services rendered, except my congressional salary. I receive some income from the estate of a deceased relative, but have no interest in the principal.

In lieu of honorariums which might otherwise come to me, I have asked groups to make contributions to activities in my home area. In 1973 the list was as follows:

Date of speech (1973)	Donor	Amount	Recipient
Feb. 13...	Mortgage Bankers	\$500.00	Youth Emergency Service.
Feb. 27...	Brookings Institution.	150.00	MN Teen Corps.
Mar. 8....	National Association of Manufacturers.	500.00	Washburn Child Guidance Center.
June 22..	Protective Group..	150.75	YMCA Building Fund.
June 22..	Macalester College.	200.00	Macalester Student Scholarship Fund.
July 25...	Baltimore Sun....	30.00	Anna Mae Hunter Home for the Blind.
Oct. 1....	U.S. Chamber....	\$250.00	Sister Kenny Institute.
Oct. 7....	Presbyterian Homes.	250.00	Presbyterian Homes.
Sept. 21..	MN Association of Realtors.	150.00	Islands for Peace.
Oct. 18...	U.S. Chamber....	200.00	Greater Minneapolis Day Care Association.
Nov. 28..	Public Affairs Council, District of Columbia.	500.00	Childrens Hospital.

I am a trustee of the Frenzel Foundation, a charitable foundation established by P. W. Frenzel, my father. It files reports as directed by law. I receive no fees or expenses for this service.

I am a member of the Advisory Board of the Distributive Education Clubs of America.

I am a member of the board of the National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation.

The following assets are held by Mrs. Frenzel and myself, some joint, some several and some in the name of a brokerage house or trust department:

#### ASSETS HELD COMMERCIAL PAPER

J. C. Penney Credit Corp.  
Sears, Roebuck Acceptance Corp.  
Northwestern Bell Telephone Co.

#### SECURITIES

American Express Co.  
Beneficial Corp.  
Bristol Meyers  
Cabot, Cabot and Forbes Land Trust.  
Cambridge Corp.  
Consolidated Foods.  
Dart Industries.  
Digital Equipment Corp.  
Edison Bros. Stores.  
General Electric Co.  
Household Finance Co.  
IBM.  
IDS Realty Trust.  
Loews Corp.  
Nortronics.  
Tampax.  
TCIT, Inc.  
Textron, Inc.  
Twin City Barge & Towing.  
Wang Labs, Inc.

#### OTHER ASSETS

Limited partnership, Hanover Apartments, St. Paul, MN (FHA guaranteed mortgage; acquired 1968).

Bank Accounts—Camden NW State Bank, Minneapolis; The McClean Bank, McLean, Virginia; The House of Representatives Bank, Washington, D.C.

Home with furnishings, McLean, Virginia.  
Three automobiles.

Ownership in various life insurance policies.

Personal property, clothing and petty cash.

#### LIABILITIES

Mortgage on McLean home with First Federal Savings & Loan of Arlington.  
Ordinary current obligations.

## PUBLIC FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, members of the news media and of various public interest groups have been calling for full public disclosure of the tax returns and personal finances of Members of Congress and holders of other public offices. For years, we in Congress have had a reporting procedure and have provided for the examination of our personal finances by members of the House Committee on Standards and Official Conduct.

What is most disturbing about the recent requests is that the call for such disclosure seems to imply that all persons in public life are guilty of misconduct until they can prove themselves innocent. Others say that those who hold the public trust have no claim to personal privacy.

I disagree with both these views. The vast majority of those in public life are honest, dedicated men willing to give up a great deal of their personal privacy and family life to serve the people. Public service, however, does not mean the public owns your life and is entitled to know everything about you.

There are proper procedures for investigation which safeguard personal rights and liberties, in the event a political figure is considered suspect of some crime. Investigative authorities can inspect the personal papers and finances of any individual through the grand jury process. Full public disclosure to the extent that some media individuals and public interest groups are seeking would amount to turning every citizen, group, or publication into an investigatory authority. This should not be their purpose.

Moreover, it would totally deny the public official any of the rights to privacy afforded other citizens. It makes a mockery of our tax laws with their protection of personal privacy and in fact weakens our very Constitution by permitting rights guaranteed under that sacred document to be abrogated by the demands of certain interest groups or media spokesmen.

Despite my personal views on the subject and my feeling that a person's finances are his own business, I did take the extraordinary step last spring of releasing copies of my income tax returns for 3 years and a full personal financial statement listing all assets and liabilities. None of this information appeared in the press because there was nothing of interest to them, nothing to criticize. I pay my taxes like most every other citizen.

Once again, despite my personal view that such information should only be subject to the review of legally constituted investigative authorities, I am releasing a statement of my taxes paid, my sources of income, and my assets and liabilities.

In addition to my congressional salary, I receive income from the law firm of

Biaggi, Ehrlich, and Lang; from interest on savings accounts and insurance policies; from dividends, from securities; and from investments in the following businesses: D. J. Cogan, Bohemia Operating Co., Carlton House, McCray, Fox/2+4, Capital Gain Realty, and Selzer-Dalto Co.

My assets include my interest in the above businesses, 1,213 shares of Century National Bank stock and 20 shares of Biltmore Corp. stock. I have no unsecured indebtedness other than normal monthly running charge accounts and the usual running household bills and expenses.

In 1971, I paid Federal taxes of \$12,734, State taxes of \$4,906, and city taxes of \$1,221. In 1972, I paid Federal taxes of \$9,990, State taxes of \$4,659, and city taxes of \$1,081. An extension has been filed for completion of my 1973 tax returns, but my accountant advises me that those taxes will be approximately the same as was paid in 1972.

Now that I and many other Members of Congress and public officials have made financial disclosures to this extent, I think it only fair to call on those members of the news media who consider themselves protectors of the public trust, guardians of the people's right to know, and the consciences of politicians to reveal their personal finances and taxes paid.

Certainly those who report the news are as easily subject to corruption, bribes, and payoffs as those about whom they report. Since they consider themselves so very much involved with protecting the public from so-called corrupt public officials, they should demonstrate to that public the confidence placed in them is well deserved.

A very few recent examinations of the media have found payoffs and bribes of news reporters and company officials seem to be commonplace. The scandal at CBS involving their record division was quickly hushed up. The New York magazine report of special treatment of sports reporters never saw the light of day in the mass media. The people have a right to know whether those who report the news are doing so out of dedication to their work or because someone might have paid them off or because they have a beneficial interest in promoting a certain story. After all, what is fair is fair for all those who hold the public trust.

#### TRIBUTE TO JOHN BURROUGHS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

**HON. THOMAS M. REES**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, on April 27 at the Los Angeles Convention Center celebrations will be held commemorating the 50th anniversary of John Burroughs Junior High School. As a graduate of John Burroughs, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a history of this very prestigious school.

Its graduates have numbered many distinguished community and national

leaders in the fields of government, industry, sports, and entertainment. It is an honor for me to congratulate all of those who have helped to build this school which has contributed so much to the Los Angeles community.

#### HISTORY OF JOHN BURROUGHS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

John Burroughs Junior High School first opened its doors in February, 1924, with 400 students and 23 teachers. Our first principal was Robert A. Thompson. The present athletic field bordering Wilshire Boulevard was not in existence and fields stretched on either side. The lower grounds were covered with underbrush through which a small creek ran. Jack rabbits lived near the creek. There were no houses within one-half mile and the school boundaries extended from Jefferson to Santa Monica Boulevards. Many students and parents complained about the muddy streets around Burroughs and hoped that McCadden Place, a dirt road, would soon be paved. Buses ran west on Wilshire to Rossmore Avenue, but to accommodate the new school, extended the route past McCadden Place.

Student activities were instituted from the start. The first student body assembly was held in the auditorium on March 7, after new seats had been installed. Green and white were selected as the school colors. In May, Horace Miller was elected first student body President. Evening movies, open to the public, were held once a month with the 15 cent admission charge going to a special fund to help pay for the "moving picture machine." In September, the enrollment jumped to 900. Assemblies were now held every Friday. Jack Dempsey appeared and gave free boxing lessons to interested boys. On another occasion, Eugene List, age 8 years, performed. He later became a famous concert pianist of international repute. The annual Honor Society picnic was a huge success. It began with the usual hike up Mount Hollywood and ended with a banquet under the trees. The student newspaper, *Far and Near*, was published from the start and every student became a subscriber. There were three Glee Clubs at J. B.—one for boys with "changed voices." Students driving their cars through the 6th Street driveway ran over a hedge of rare plants that were being carefully nurtured by the agriculture classes. No hope was given for their survival.

Two important pieces of memorabilia were acquired during the early years. In May, 1926, a painting by the noted landscape artist, William Wendt, was presented to the school by the P.T.A. Entitled "Sunny Slopes" it hangs on the east wall of the library today. An original letter from John Burroughs to Miss Alice Syar of Minnesota was presented by Miss Hurst, school librarian. Miss Hurst paid a collector \$10.00 for the letter. It may be seen in the library today.

During the Second World War the school did its part in the war effort. Monthly stamp and bond drives were scheduled. By March of 1943 Burroughs reached its goal of \$75,000 in stamp and bond sales making it possible for the student body to purchase a P-51 Mustang pursuit plane inscribed with the school's name. J. B. reached another goal in bond sales with plans to buy a jeep a day. \$900 daily bond sales made this possible. Many boys gathered after school to build model airplanes which were presented to the Navy and used for instructional purposes by them. In addition, Andre Previn, a talented student, entertained troops in Santa Ana with the California Junior Symphony. Mr. Previn is now a renowned conductor and numbers among many famous J. B. Graduates.

"The John Burroughs Creed" was adopted in June of '42 from a suggestion submitted to the Student Board of Representatives by Worth Blaney, then a 7th grader. The official school creed follows:



I believe in the John Burroughs way of democratic and helpful teachings, upon which I am given the opportunity to build a just and normal future. I, therefore, believe it my duty to John Burroughs to support its cause, to hold its ideals always before me, to obey its rules and regulations, and to be kind, generous, loyal, and helpful.

In June, 1946, after 22 years of outstanding leadership, Robert A. Thompson retired as Principal. He was succeeded by Ellis A. Jarvis. Although Mr. Jarvis later served as Superintendent of Schools, he always remained strongly attached to John Burroughs. During Mr. Jarvis' years as Principal, Burroughs became a center for various community endeavors. Operas, concerts, athletic events, organization and club meetings were just a few of the activities held at the school. During these years, J. B. had twice the amount of civic center permits issued than any other school in Los Angeles. The P.T.A. continued to grow and on October 17, 1947, Goodwin J. Knight, then Lieutenant-Governor of California and member of the Burroughs P.T.A. addressed the first meeting of the year to an overflow crowd in the auditorium.

John Burroughs celebrated its Silver Anniversary in 1949. A special anniversary luncheon was held in the Home Economics demonstration room. Mr. Thompson, first Principal, talked about past memories. Miss Baller, Girls' Vice Principal, was presented with a pair of silver trays by the P.T.A. They are currently used at parties and teas. The 25th Anniversary Open House was undoubtedly the biggest in John Burroughs' history with 3,750 guests attending the dancing, music, exhibits and other activities featured at the school. The Burr, student body annual, of 1949 honored several famous graduates. Among them was Robert Hightower, a leading actor in many Broadway shows who had given several command performances for the royal family of England. Also mentioned were Jim Hardy and Don Paul, both active in athletics as pupils and who later went on to play football with the Los Angeles Rams.

Before the present permit policy was established, a unique situation ensued at Burroughs between 1964 and 1966. Being the prestigious school that it is, parents living outside the school's attendance area were anxious to obtain the limited number of permits available for their children to attend J. B. Inasmuch as permit day was on a Monday at 8:00 a.m. each semester, parents began lining up outside the school on the Friday evening before. Tents were pitched, parents took turns saving places in line, some brought barbecue dinner for all, and a general festive mood permeated as anxious parents camped out on the front lawn for the weekend. The metropolitan newspapers soon picked up this story, and the fame of John Burroughs was spread throughout the entire Los Angeles area.

At various times the *Far and Near* has reported that John Burroughs' graduates include such prominent personalities as Max Factor Jr., Piper Laurie, Tab Hunter, Dustin Hoffman, John Barrymore Jr., Leonard Slatkin, Associate Director of the St. Louis Symphony; William Sackheim, MCA Corporation; Matthew Rapf, TV Producer; and Zina Schiff, concert violinist.

Principals at Burroughs have been: Robert A. Thompson, 1924-1946; Ellis A. Jarvis, 1946-1949; Dr. James W. Lloyd, 1949-1960; Crawford Peek, 1960-1966; Dr. Richard Hammerle, 1966-1967; Dr. Genevieve McDermott, 1967-1972; John Fox, Jr., 1972-1973; and Walker Carlton, 1973.

## EAST TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL SALUTES ITS SPORTS GREATS

### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, on April 7, 1974, it was my privilege to participate in the Sports Hall of Fame banquet for the Superstars of Cleveland's East Technical High School.

Jesse Owens is the most famous of East Tech's great athletes. But together with Jesse seven other men were inducted into the Hall of Fame, and I will bet there is hardly another high school in America which can boast as illustrious a roster.

In honor of East Tech and these men who are her special pride, I take the liberty of sharing their stories with my colleagues in the House.

Salute the Scarabs.

The material follows:

EAST TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL HALL OF FAME  
INDUCTEES 1974—WE SALUTE OUR SCARABS!

DAVID D. ALBRITTON

David Albritton attended "Tech 1933-36. He was one of the most outstanding athletes ever to be numbered among its students. He was an end on the football team during his years there and a center on the basketball squad. He was a state champ in the high jump, ran relays and hurdles for the track team, and was a boxing champ for two years in the Golden Gloves.

Albritton placed second in the high jump in the Olympic Games in Germany in 1936. He set a world high jump record while at Ohio State University and was the Big Ten and National Collegiate high jump champion. Dave Albritton was recently named "Outstanding High Jumper from 1930 to the Present" by the Inter-Collegiate Conference Athletic Association. He is also a member of Helms Foundation Hall of Fame.

Mr. Albritton has served six terms in the Ohio House as Representative of District 85. He is president of his own insurance firm and founder of the Unity State Bank of Dayton, Ohio. He also has produced many outstanding track champions and teams while coaching at Dayton Dunbar High School.

JOHN A. BEHM

John Behm attended East Tech 1918-22. He played football for 3 years. The first year as an end, then as a halfback and as a quarterback in his last year. He played basketball and was All-scholastic as a guard when scores of games ended 10-7. In track he ran the 100 yard dash and was a pole vaulter. John Behm also starred as a swimmer and a hockey player for Tech. He played on the team that played in The National Football Championship game in Everett, Washington in which East Tech lost 16-7. This represented the only loss in three years for the team.

Johnny Behm is perhaps best known as the guy who won a football game with Drake University by running backwards for three safeties. Following his graduation from Iowa State, Behm coached football at Colgate University 1926-27. In 1928 he returned to East Tech as football coach. He coached until 1932. Dave Albritton and Jerry Williams were two who starred on his teams.

He holds a school record for points after touchdowns. Presently John Behm operates

his own insurance agency which he founded in 1932.

FRANK J. CIVILETTO (DECEASED)

The name Frank Civiletto is one of the most well-known among athletes of old Central High School. He rolled up an enviable record during his four years there, starting in football, basketball, track and tennis. In basketball, he was high point man for three years in the city. Central's Varsity Five won the Scholastic, City and Mid-West titles in 1916. In 1917, the three Cleveland Dailies selected the entire Central High Five for the Scholastic team making "first time" news. Civiletto set records in the shotput and discus in '17 and coached as well as played on the tennis team.

Frank won letters in all sports at Springfield College, Massachusetts, and was captain of the football team in '22. He was All-American among small colleges and was sought by West Point but preferred to return to Ohio.

Civiletto coached football, basketball, track, bowling and tennis at Central for '23-'41. He completed his career in high school coaching at Glenview, where he worked from '41-'62. Under his astute direction, Central High won the Scholastic Championship (with Paul Rose as captain) and was pitted against Latin for the City Championship in the first charity game in the Cleveland Stadium.

The name Civiletto is being honored in like manner April 20 of this year, where Springfield College will name him posthumously to the Springfield College Athletic Hall of Fame.

HARRISON DILLARD

W. Harrison Dillard's career in sports at East Tech and Baldwin Wallace, Berea, Ohio reads like "Who's Who".

Following his years at 'Tech, '38-'41, where he became City and State champion in high and low hurdles, Dillard established the following outstanding record at Baldwin-Wallace and beyond.

His records include: 4 Gold Medals in the G.I. Olympics in Germany; 17 National AAU and National Collegiate Championships; Four Gold Medals: 100 meter dash and 400 meter relay in the 1948 Olympic Games in London, England and 110 meter high hurdles and 400 meter relay in the 1952 Olympic Games at Helsinki, Finland; Holder of the all-time record for consecutive races won at 82; At one period, held simultaneously 11 World, Olympic and American records.

Voted the Sullivan Award in 1955 as the Nation's Outstanding Amateur Athlete; and winner of the following hurdles championships: Cleveland K of C (12 times); Millrose Games Champ (9 years); Chicago Daily News (10 years); Boston, K of C (10 years); Boston A.A. (10 years).

Presently, Dillard works as Director of Purchasing for the Cleveland Board of Education and writes a weekly column for the Cleveland Press.

IVAN GREENE

Ivan Greene came to East Tech in 1925 after a stint in World War I and a college career at Wooster, Ohio. He coached football at Tech for three years and then for about ten years devoted full time to teaching. He returned in 1937 to take over the helm as head track coach. His records as a track coach remain unparalleled in the nation. Just a few of his accomplishments are listed here: 8 State Championships, 16 District Championships, 19 Indoor Senate Championships, 18 Outdoor Senate Championships, 9 West Tech Relays Championships, 9 Mansfield Relays Championships, 8 Salem Relays Crowns, 7 Ohio Wesleyan, 4 East Tech Relay, 2 Ohio University, and 2 Canton McKinley Championships also.

Ivan Greene's coaching career ended in 1960. He retired in 1965 after coaching many individual champions. He will long be remembered by the many champions he influenced in a winning way. Ivan Greene was more than a coach, for many of his young men he served as a "father," "counselor" and loyal friend.

JESSE OWENS

Jesse Owens is considered by many sports experts to be the "greatest track and field star of the half century."

At East Tech, Owens won all major track events and was a member of the state championship team for three consecutive years. In the NIS meet, Chicago, he set a new scholastic world record by running the 100 in 9.4 seconds and tied the world record. He also set a world record in the 220 by running the distance in 20.7 seconds. Owens previously set a new world record in the broad jump with 24'-11 3/4".

As an OSU sophomore, he had the distinction of being the only track athlete in history to set three world records and to tie a fourth in a single track meet. He ran the 100-yard dash in 9.4 seconds, tying the world's record and set world's records in the 220-yard dash in 20.2 seconds, the 220 low hurdles at 22.6 seconds and the broad jump at 26'-8 3/4".

At the 1936 Olympic games held in Berlin, Germany, Owens gained international distinction by setting four new Olympic records, in winning individual titles in the 100-meters, 200-meters and broad jump, and running on the victorious 400-meter relay team.

LA MOYNE PORTER

LaMoynes Porter showed signs of greatness even as a student at Kennard Junior High School where he was on the honor roll and played basketball and volleyball. His goal was to attend East Tech seeking the best education he could get with hopes of playing basketball.

That's history now as LaMoynes excelled in the classroom, was State High Jump champ and proved to be one of the mainstays of the Senate, City, and State champion basketball teams coached by John Broski in 1958 and 1959. He was also a school leader, elected president of his class.

LaMoynes went to the U. of Washington, became discouraged, and left to enter the Air Force. He played basketball for the All-Air Force team for eight years, was a member of the inter-service team and was cited as an outstanding drill instructor, while stationed in Texas.

He returned to Cleveland, enrolled at CSU, and broke the CSU basketball scoring record under Coach Ray Deiringer. Today LaMoynes coaches Glenville's basketball team and recently guided them to a Sectional Championship.

SAM WILLAMAN (DECEASED)

Born and bred in Ohio, Sam Willaman was a product of Alliance High School and Ohio State University—1918. He was a task master in the aesthetics of sportsmanship, demanding clean speech, clean living and clean morals of those he coached. His goals were not only to win games but to win young men.

He coached football, track and basketball teams at East Tech and turned out star football and basketball teams. On the track, Coach Willaman's teams took the 1919 North Eastern Ohio title. In '20 they were Ohio Scholastic champions and repeated the feat in '21. Coach Willaman left Tech to coach at Iowa State as head football coach and took four East Tech stars with him; John and Norton Behm, Jack Trice and Champ Hardy. He later coached at Ohio State and won all but the Michigan games in his years there. He coached at Western Reserve when Doc Kelker was a Freshman. Two years later, the world lost one of its most illustrious coaches—Sam Willaman.

## CONGRATULATIONS TO RAYMOND PRUSINSKI AND THE MEN OF THE 85TH BATTALION

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding community service performed by the 85th Support Battalion of the U.S. Army Reserves in Illinois, which is active on the northwest side of Chicago in the 11th District I am honored to represent, and to the dedicated leadership of the battalion's resourceful special projects officer, Mr. Raymond Prusinski.

The 85th was nominated for the Department of Defense Community Service Program Award and Mr. Prusinski, in addition to his nomination for a Sustained Superior Performance Award, has received an Outstanding Performance Award and also a promotion of two grades.

Time and time again, the members of the 85th Support Battalion have proven their willingness to aid in community projects. In 1973 they conducted four separate blood drives for individual children and sponsored or aided youth activities with the YMCA, the Cook County Public Aid Department Youth Groups, and the McCormick Boys Club.

The 85th also has a proud record of sustained action in the Portage District Boy Scout project, Save Our American Resources (SOAR), and the entire battalion will join some 3,000 Scouts, scouters, and community residents on April 27 in helping to make the North Branch of the Chicago River a more scenic and cleaner area for all of the people of Cook County.

This year, the cleanup effort will center around the Whealan Pool area, and I am looking forward to joining area residents on Saturday. In addition to the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and the 85th Battalion, members from the Parkview Civic Association, the North Branch Coalition, and the United Independent Community Associations will be there to lend a hand.

The 85th has consistently supported these community cleanup efforts, which last year resulted in the removal of 3,720,000 pounds of debris from the river, and Project SOAR Chairman John M. Andersen informs me that without the help and ability of Raymond Prusinski, this project would not have the proud record of accomplishment it holds.

Mr. Prusinski has since been transferred to the Reserves' 366th Transportation Group but true to his personal principles of loyalty and dedication to service for others, not himself, he will have a detachment from the 366th out on Saturday, April 27, helping in SOAR's annual clean-up project.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Raymond Prusinski, and the men of the 85th Support Battalion, and extend my greetings to them as they continue to contribute to

the community. Their fellow citizens who have given so much of their own time and effort to improve our community and its resources are proud of them and grateful for their competent and inspiring assistance.

ARMOND L. "BILLY" ROBINSON

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Armond Robinson was a friend and a fellow lawyer for whom I had great respect. He was dedicated to his family, his church, and his profession. He had a strong, abiding love for his alma mater, Morehouse College.

Unfortunately, I was in Africa at the time of his death. But I wish to pay tribute to Armond Robinson today. I take the liberty of publishing a moving eulogy of the man by Charles H. Loeb, city editor of the Call and Post of Cleveland:

TRIBUTE TO A MOREHOUSE MAN

(By Charles H. Loeb)

Armond L. "Billy" Robinson, whose sudden death several weeks ago brought shock and genuine sadness to thousands of Clevelanders, left behind him an involvement with people and events that will keep his memory fresh for many years to come.

Of all the positions, honors and titles Billy accumulated during his 62 years of productive living, he was proudest of all of being identified as "A Morehouse Man," one of that rare breed that seems to find a special inspiration for service to the hundreds of fortunate black communities throughout the nation that are blessed with their citizenship.

Cleveland has been fortunate in attracting not only its "fair share" of Morehouse Men, but some of its most brilliant graduates. Some names that stand out at the moment are the late Wade H. McKinney of Antioch Baptist Church, William Hamilton, nationally respected leader of the Realist Association, Appeals Court Judge Leo Jackson, Educator John Turner of Case Western Reserve University; Rev. James Stallings, Executive Secretary of the Cleveland Branch, NAACP; Rev. Luther Hill of Second Mt. Sinai Baptist Church; Lawrence Powell of the Department of Parole, among others.

Internationally renowned Dr. Martin Luther King, of course, now at rest on the Morehouse campus, is easily among the most distinguished and widely-publicized of the unique breed of Morehouse Men.

In this light, it is easy to understand that the family of Armond L. Robinson, is echoing a commitment that Billy made throughout his adult life—zealous and continuing support not only at Morehouse but of the Negro College Fund that supports Morehouse and 39 other black private colleges that help 45,000 students find their way out of rural backwaters and urban ghettos of this country and into 20th century America.

The finest tribute to his contributions we believe should take the form of contributions in Billy's memory to Morehouse College, his beloved Alma Mater. Contributions should be sent directly to President Hugh M. Gloster.



## POLITICAL PRISONERS IN VIETNAM

## HON. ANDREW YOUNG

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is distressing that the U.S. State Department tries to maintain the fiction that no political prisoners are being held by the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. Two recent reports confirm the existence of the political prisoner system there.

One report, which comes to me by way of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, tells of the plight of some 300 Buddhist monks detained at Chi Hoa Detention Center in Saigon, where on March 1 they began fasting and praying in silence to demand their release. A letter from Thich Nhat Hanh of the Vietnamese Buddhist Peace Delegation, together with a letter from Thich Minh Hoang—one of the imprisoned monks—provide descriptions of this terrible situation.

The second report is a dispatch from Saigon by United Press International, reporting some details on the number and location of political prisoners in South Vietnam. This dispatch appeared in the April 18 issue of the Atlanta Journal.

The articles follow:

THE VIETNAMESE BUDDHIST  
PEACE DELEGATION,  
Paris, France, March 15, 1974.

DEAR FRIENDS: On the morning of March 1, 1974, 300 Buddhist monks detained at Chi Hoa Detention Center in Saigon began fasting and praying in silence to demand their release. In a letter sent to Thich Phap Lan, Chairman of the Buddhist Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners, written on March 5, 1974, the monk Thich Minh Hoang, Representative of the 300 fasting monks, said that 20 of them had fainted on that day and 5 had been carried to the Prison Medical Center. He said that the monks are only living on prayer and water, and have decided to go on with the fastings and silent praying, indefinitely until their demand is met. He said on that day a team of opposition senators came to the prison, but the fasting monks were not allowed to talk to them.

On March 12, Thich Phap Lan, Thich Nhat Thuong and 20 other Buddhist leaders came to the Chi Hoa prison to visit the fasting monks. Several newsmen came with them. They were not allowed to enter the prison. Films and tapes of CBS and NBC newsmen were confiscated. When the Buddhist delegation left, 15 newsmen were detained by the police. The delegation returned to the prison later and tried to push through the gate but were chased off by police who fired shots into the air. Efforts by the Buddhist delegation to get sugar and lemon to the fasting prisoners also failed. The guards of the prison refused to take these items. On the same day, the Associated Press reported that 142 more monks were arrested in Can Giuoc, 12 miles south of Saigon.

We enclose the translation of the letter of prisoner Thich Minh Hoang to Thich Phap Lan and a photocopy of the original. We urge you to take whatever action you can to support the fasting prisoners. We will be very grateful for your support.

THICH NHAT HANH.

[Translated from the Vietnamese]

HOMAGE TO OUR LORD AND TEACHER THE  
ENLIGHTENED SAKYA MUNI

OUR DEAR VENERABLE: In the name of 300 monks who started last week fasting and

praying in silence in this Detention Center in Saigon, imprisoned on charges of civil disobedience and insubordination, we request you to raise your voice so that the public within and without the country will be aware of what is going on here.

Venerable, all of us declared that we would begin on the 27th of February 1974 fasting and praying in complete silence to transmit our request to the government, asking the government to free us so we can go back to our monasteries, pagodas, and institutes to continue our religious study and practice. On that day the lieutenant colonel chief of the Detention Center asked us to postpone our action for 3 days, so that he could intervene with the Ministry of the Interior. He said that if the result was negative he would not prevent us from the action. We complied with his request, and the result was that we started the fast and silent prayer on the morning of March 1, 1974. Today, after 5 days living exclusively on prayer and water, most of us feel physically exhausted. More than 20 have fainted and 5 among them have just been carried to the Medical Center of this Detention House.

Today we notice that the administration of the Detention Center is trying to hide our action from the public. At 9:30 this morning when a delegation of Senators came to investigate the aspiration of the prisoners, the Administration prevented us to meet with the delegation. It is our intention to pursue our action of fasting and praying in complete silence not only for 7 days as we decided at the bureau of the lieutenant colonel chief of the Detention Center on the 4th of March 1974, but indefinitely until our aspiration is met.

For the sake of the lives of 300 of us, we respectfully request you, Venerable, to present this case to the Central Executive Council of the Unified Buddhist Church, and ask the Council to intervene with the government to save us from slowly dying in this prison.

Also we request that you and the Central Executive Council of the Unified Buddhist Church present our case widely to the public. We shall be grateful to you for our whole life and we pray that our Lord and Teacher will bring you peace and the full accomplishment of your task.

Respectfully,

THICH MINH HOANG,  
Prison No. 5348 QPTA, for the Representative Committee of the Fasting  
300.

## SAIGON HOLDS POLITICAL PRISONERS

SAIGON.—The Saigon government denies holding any political prisoners, but well-informed South Vietnamese sources say several thousand of the detained are languishing in jails.

Many political prisoners are non-Communist pawns in a cold-blooded negotiating game between the government of President Nguyen Van Thieu and the Viet Cong.

The political prisoner issue has led to many charges, but few facts have come to light. There has been charged that as many as 200,000 political detainees are held by Saigon.

Officially, the government claims all the detainees—about 5,080 "Communist agents"—have been turned over to the Viet Cong. Officials admit privately, however, to an unspecified number of pro-Communists still in jail.

One source closely involved with political detainees agreed to provide secret information to United Press International on condition he remain unidentified.

The source said South Vietnam's total civil prison population of about 37,000 on March 1 included about 8,500 persons who could be classed as political detainees under a broad classification of "disturbers of the peace."

Of these, somewhat more than half are considered actual Communists or Viet Cong

agents. About 4,500 have never been formally sentenced. At least 600 are women.

Prisoner exchanges have halted with a breakdown in negotiations, but the source said many prisoners have been kept in jail for possible use in future exchanges.

"It is sort of like an account in a bank," he said, "You want to keep money on hand for things that may come up."

The source gave this description of the political detainee situation:

In addition to actual Communists or sympathizers, prisoners include persons who have been caught with antigovernment literature, activists accused of "going against the currents of the government."

Some prisoners seized under the U.S.-sponsored Phoenix program, started to eradicate the Viet Cong leadership, were victims of mistaken arrests or personal grudges on the part of officials or informers.

Others were ordinary people who cooperated in such ways as buying rice for Communists, either because they needed money or feared reprisals against families in Viet Cong-controlled areas.

A detailed breakdown of detainees shows most are held in four national prisons. Con Son, a maximum security institution on an island off the southern coast, has the biggest number.

Chi Hoa prison in Saigon holds a number of politically sensitive cases. Tan Hiep prison on the outskirts of Bien Hoa, about 20 miles from the capital, is an almost exclusively political jail with many hard-core Communist inmates. The fourth, Thu Duc, is a women's prison.

Prisoners at Tan Hiep have tight discipline and virtually run their compounds with little interference from officials. Guards are in physical fear of entering.

In some cases, the source said non-Communists might have switched sides in prison because of exposure to Viet Cong cadres or bitterness over jail life.

"It could happen that we drive people into the hands of the Communists while they are in prison," he said. "They become convinced that on this side there is injustice and on the other side there is justice." One prisoner held in Chi Hoa is Tran Ngoc Chau, best known of all political detainees. A controversial opposition politician, he was jailed in 1969 for contacts with his brother, an admitted North Vietnamese agent.

According to the source, Chau was placed on a list for exchange to the Viet Cong last summer, but his name was removed at the last moment on orders from high government officials.

Sources close to negotiations for civilian prisoner exchanges say they resemble a horse-trading process with each side holding back senior people in order to get someone they want in return.

There has been cheating on both sides, with one or the other sometimes reneging on an agreement to deliver a particular prisoner appearing on the exchange list.

ARKANSAS TRANSPLANT JOHN CANFIELD IS NOW A CREDIT TO MICHIGAN

## HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, the citizens of Dearborn Heights, Mich., paid tribute to their mayor, John L. Canfield. Although Michigan now claims John Canfield and would like to take credit for his many contributions to the political system and the people

there, it was his Arkansas upbringing which was responsible for his successful and dedicated life of public service.

Mayor Canfield moved to Clarendon, Ark., at age 8 and in 1928 moved to Piggott where he went to Haywood School. His mother, Mrs. Ethel Canfield and his sister, Mrs. Dorothy Graddy, still live in Piggott. In 1940, he moved to Detroit where he worked in the automobile industry, became very active in the union and moved up through the ranks. This set the background for his interest in politics, for it did not take long for John Canfield to put down his roots and become a man to be listened to.

John Canfield was supervisor of Dearborn Township from 1959 until 1963 when the community was incorporated as a city, and he was elected its first mayor. He has held the post since that time. Earlier, he had served as a park commissioner and a township board trustee.

John Canfield also served as chairman of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors, was a "favorite son" candidate for Michigan Lieutenant Governor in 1966, and was the first chairman of the 15th Congressional District of Michigan when it was created in 1964.

Mr. Speaker, many times you have heard me take the House floor to discuss the plight of rural America whose citizens are leaving their homes and families and migrating to other States where jobs are more plentiful. John Canfield is an example of the talent our State has lost.

Our loss was Michigan's gain. The tributes paid to him yesterday by his friends illustrate the high esteem in which he is held in his adopted State.

I would like to join his friends in Michigan in commending John Canfield for his devotion to his life's work and his dedication to his fellow man.

#### AN ENERGY CRISIS AND AN ECOLOGY CRISIS

### HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, there is no question that this Nation faces over the next two decades both an energy crisis and an ecology crisis. One of the best answers to both of these crises is an adequate system of rail mass transportation. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues testimony before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Commission on March 11, 1974, by the distinguished borough president of the Bronx, Robert Abrams:

TESTIMONY DELIVERED BY BRONX BOROUGH PRESIDENT ROBERT ABRAMS BEFORE THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, MARCH 11, 1974

I am Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams. After careful study of the Federal Department of Transportation's plan for the core system of the proposed Consolidated Rail Corporation, I am convinced that this document is a prescription for economic and environmental disaster for New York State. The abandonment of 34% of the rail trackage in the entire State, concentrated as it is in the upstate area, will not only have

a devastating effect on hundreds of cities and towns in that immediate region but will create cascading unemployment and rising consumer prices for all of our citizens—wherever they live.

In fact, this plan is nothing more than an instant replay of the same outdated concepts which led to the collapse of the highly touted Penn Central merger only a few years ago. We have heard all of these nostrums before: abandon track, fire workers, close "unprofitable" stations. We have done all of these things in the last five years throughout the Northeast and Midwest and the situation today is worse, not better. Surely, the wreck of the Penn Central should teach us that these are exactly the things we should not do if we sincerely seek to build a balanced transportation system which will sustain economic health and at the same time help us to stretch our uncertain fossil fuel supplies.

The simple reality is that the D.O.T. proposal fails entirely to meet the basic goals set by Congress when it adopted the Rail Reorganization Act of 1973. This is a plan to minimize Federal expenditures for rail service, not a plan to provide the significantly upgraded railroad system we need to restore effective competition among different modes of transportation in order to reduce transportation costs and ultimately, to provide a greater variety of goods to consumers at lower prices. For decades America's railroads have been allowed to deteriorate while competing forms of transportation—trucks, airlines and water transport—received massive Federal subsidies. We can not now expect that this pattern of neglect can be rectified in a few short years, or that a first class rail system can be created without far more significant Federal investment than is contemplated in the current proposal.

Even the inadequate amounts provided turn out to be largely mythical. Therefore, of the \$2.2 billion "subsidy" figure quoted by proponents of this plan, \$1.5 billion—roughly three-quarters of the total commitment—are loan guarantees, not actual cash contributions. Given the generally expressed doubt that the railroads can return to profitable operation within the next decade, this means that even with Federal guarantees any new system would still be forced to borrow at destructively high interest rates in the open market. Similarly, the current plan offers only \$180 million in matching subsidies to localities or states which want to maintain vital track links which are absolutely necessary to regional growth but can never become "profitable" in an exclusively cash-producing sense. Thus half the cost of maintaining vital service is foisted onto those branches of government least able to pay, and who face the equally staggering task of providing massive amounts of funds to save local mass transit systems. Local government is therefore asked to carry the lion's share of the burden in both passenger and freight traffic because of this national Administration's default in these vital areas.

D.O.T.'s obvious attempts to accomplish rail reorganization without an adequate investment of Federal funds therefore must inevitably lead to the continuation of a deteriorating rail system and severe additional costs to consumers throughout the State as well as totally unnecessary unemployment and economic decline in upstate New York. This misguided attempt to restructure rail service "on the cheap" is particularly ludicrous in light of the Administration's stated commitment to continue building \$5 billion worth of highways each year despite the current fuel drought and the prospect of limited supplies and chronic high prices for gasoline and diesel fuel in the foreseeable future.

In this regard, it must be emphasized again and again that rail transport is the most fuel and cost efficient means of moving goods—four times more efficient than trucks and 60 times more efficient than planes.

Given the severe limitations on testimony time, I want to focus on two key items relating to the goals of this legislation in the few minutes remaining. I trust that the many citizens groups present here today will cover many of the other crucial issues which I am forced to neglect.

First, I want to draw your attention to what seems to me the missing link in the plan before us. While much of the discussion about the disastrous state of our railroads has focused on restoring deteriorating roadbeds, the final bill adopted by Congress and signed by the President completely ignored the serious shortage of rolling stock. The lack of an adequate supply of boxcars, refrigerator and tank cars has led to price increases for every product and service we need from the food on our tables to lumber to build new homes.

The original Rail Reorganization Bill set the establishment of a Railroad Equipment Authority to provide the railroads with new rolling stock as one of its major objectives. Unfortunately, the false economy which permeates the final version of this proposal led to the scrapping of this vital provision.

The Senate Commerce Committee's report on the original proposal sets forth the shortage of rolling stock in succinct and compelling terms:

"The shortage of freight cars is a long standing problem of nationwide scope. Shippers are often unable to obtain sufficient number of freight cars to move their products. As a result, grain is piled in the streets of Midwestern towns, manufactured goods stack up on shipper's docks, vital coal stockpiles are diminished, and lumber prices skyrocket because the products cannot be moved to the location of demand for them. . . . The nation is experiencing its greatest freight car shortage in history."

The report cites a shortage of 38,883 freight cars a day during the week ending November 3, 1973. It goes on to point out that the greatest shortage today is being experienced by those railroads in the weakest financial shape, and they must cut back on their service to shippers because of their inability to borrow funds for the desperately needed new equipment. The paradox here is that as more and more shippers turn to the rails in the midst of the fuel crisis, the railroads must turn away this profitable new business because of unavailability of equipment capacity.

The Senate report goes on to quote a D.O.T. forecast that we need \$2.3 billion worth of new cars immediately—more than the entire Federal contribution for upgrading all aspects of rail performance in the current legislation. An additional \$8 billion will be needed to meet the demands of the next decade. Therefore, even if consolidation could produce a condensed system of shiny new tracks, what good would it be if we lack the rolling stock needed to carry our goods to market?

The answer is inescapable: only a massive, immediate Federal investment in rolling stock can give the nation's railroads the new equipment they need to become profitable again. Without this critical additional component, all of our efforts to restore the nation's rail system will simply constitute another step in a long line of failures.

I am hopeful that the necessary changes can still be made. I believe that the uniform resistance to this initial reorganization plan which has emerged from communities across the Northeast and Midwest will result in a major revision of the plan before it is presented to Congress next year. The American people realize that we simply can not face an uncertain future fuel situation without a national commitment to thoroughly rebuilding our rail lines.

I would also add that one of the most hopeful aspects of the process through which this new national consensus is being shaped has been the inclusion of public counsels within the Interstate Commerce



Commission. This is an innovative, and long overdue, recognition that it is government's responsibility to maximize the public's participation in the planning process. We will all be watching very carefully to see that the public counsels receive the support and freedom of operation necessary to make this experiment a success.

In closing, I would like to read to you a letter which was recently published in the Washington Post from a Mr. Bruse Johnson of Cambridge, England. After praising America's belated recognition of the need to rebuild our rail lines as a result of the fuel crisis, Mr. Johnson cites the basic mistake which was made in restructuring rail service in Britain. It is advice we should heed.

"I am disheartened to hear, however that the new corporation will begin its life by paring 7,000 to 11,000 miles of 'unprofitable' tracks from the 26,000 miles acquired from the seven bankrupt railroads included in the recent act. British Rail, which took over the British railway network several years ago, made this same mistake. It slashed 'unprofitable' branch lines in the name of efficiency which, naturally enough, cut the volume of traffic flowing into other lines, which made them, in turn, 'unprofitable' and forced further cuts all along the rail network. Now, as this process has continued, rail business in Britain has continued to worsen and the road haulers have begun to introduce juggernaut lorries to handle the freight forced off the rails."

I think Mr. Johnson's letter sums up quite well the paradoxical situation we face under this proposed plan. Let us not continue to make the same mistake made abroad or at home by accepting the siren call of "profitability through abandonment." We should focus instead on expanding rail service, creating more—not fewer jobs—on the nation's railways, and considering transportation as an inter-related system, rather than a series of unrelated problems each to be solved by a new remedy. Transportation financing and planning should be given a total approach by the Federal government, and we must build a balanced, fuel efficient and environmentally sound transit system for moving people and goods as one of our highest national priorities.

#### MARTZES OF MARYLAND

### HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate Ralph F. Martz of Frederick County, Md., on the recent publication of his book, "Martzes of Maryland." The book is a history of the Martz family in the State of Maryland and other members of the family outside the State.

Mr. Martz became interested in the subject of his family tree after being inspired by his schoolteacher, Miss Mary Ott. The book took him 35 years to research and compile with many trips to churches and courthouses. After his research, it took 2 years to complete the book.

The book lists Martzes who have fought in various conflicts from the American Revolution through World War II. There were about 25 Martzes who fought for the Republic during the Revolution. The original Martz settlers were Germans who arrived in the United States in 1732-33 in Germantown, Pa.

I am sure Ralph Martz' book will be

of great historical interest not only to the members of the family but to people everywhere interested in the history of their country as the Bicentennial celebration approaches.

#### "SPINOFF FROM DOD R&D? NOT MUCH, STUDY FINDS," AN ARTICLE IN SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAM

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. BRADEMAM. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a most thoughtful article in the April 15, 1974, issue of "Science and Government Report" entitled, "Spinoff from DOD R&D? Not Much, Study Finds."

The article follows:

#### SPINOFF FROM DOD R&D? NOT MUCH, STUDY FINDS

A committee working under the auspices of the National Academy of Engineering, the nation's most prestigious organization for engineers, has come close to labeling as a sham the oft-made claim that the massive amount of money which has been poured into space and defense research has resulted in widespread spinoff benefits to society.

"With a few exceptions, the vast technology developed by federally-funded programs since World War II has not resulted in widespread 'spinoffs' of secondary or additional applications of practical products, processes, and services that have made an impact on the nation's economic growth, industrial productivity, employment gains, and foreign trade," the committee states.

It goes on to note that there is a huge amount of technology developed in federal laboratories which could be exploited for the public good, but "a plethora of structural and institutional barriers exist in the federal government and the private economy to prevent the efficient and effective use of this technology."

In 1972, when the now-defunct Office of Science and Technology put together Nixon's historic message on science and technology, the talk then was of finding ways of putting R&D to work in solving "critical national problems." Nixon's message promised that the federal government would seek to find ways to stimulate private investment in R&D and to get technology which had been developed in federal laboratories out into the marketplace.

But about the only federal project to emerge from the gusher of talk was the Experimental Technology Incentives Program (ETIP), jointly funded and administered by the National Science Foundation and the National Bureau of Standards. NBS is only now getting round to announcing its first contracts, and NSF's part of the operation has been reduced from an \$11 million a year enterprise to a minuscule \$1 million. According to NSF Director Guyford Stever, the program is now in an "evaluation mode."

The accomplishments have therefore so far failed to live up to the rhetoric of Nixon's message, and the NAE committee—which was in fact convened through a grant from the NSF ETIP program—has suggested that so far the Administration has been taking too timid an approach.

For a start, the committee believes that the federal government has been spending a paltry sum of money encouraging technology utilization—in 1973, it spent \$43 million, or 0.25 per cent of the total research budget on

such activities. The NAE committee reckons that the figure should be pumped up to \$1 billion.

The money would be used to fund a search of projects supported by federal agencies, to determine which have developed products likely to be useful to society, and then to fund a variety of incentives to industry to exploit them. Such incentives as exclusive licenses, and "imaginatively bold financial aid to users in the private and public sectors in order to accelerate the direct implementation or to stimulate financial institutions to provide greater investment in new technology enterprises" should be tried, the committee suggested.

Most of the committee's suggestions and recommendations are familiar stuff, and reflect the industrial bent of the majority of its members. Like similar recommendations made last year by representatives from state and local governments for harnessing federal R&D for the common good, they will probably be quietly forgotten.

The committee was chaired by Joseph H. Newman, senior vice president, Tishman Research Corp., New York City. The report, titled, Technology Transfer and Utilization, is available without charge from the Printing and Publishing Office, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Ave., NW., Washington, D.C. 20418.

#### PLEDGES U.S. SUPPORT FOR DEVELOPING WORLD'S RESOURCES

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, last Monday Secretary of State Henry Kissinger delivered a very important speech to the United Nations. The general theme was the interdependence of nations, and his message was simple:

The great issues of development can no longer be realistically perceived in terms of confrontation between the haves and the have nots. The transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries—essential to all hopes for progress—can only take place with the support of the technologically advanced countries. The politics of pressure and threats will undermine the domestic base of this support.

While cautioning developing nations against the use of pressure or force, the Secretary also pledged U.S. support for developing the world's resources. He also outlined six problem areas of particular concern: an expansion of energy supplies at equitable prices; stable prices and supplies of raw materials; food shortages and an expanding world population; economic assistance for the poorest of nations; increased use of science and technology to overcome problems; and equitable trade and monetary policies.

I am particularly pleased to see the Secretary's proposal that an international group of experts work with the United Nations in surveying resources and developing an early warning system for scarcities and surpluses. In my judgment, such an early warning system is crucial if people and nations are to avoid starvation and economic disruptions or chaos.

Mr. Speaker, a recent analysis of economic events which have occurred in the past several months—including escalating costs for fuel, food, and fertilizer—indicates that an additional \$9 billion burden has been placed on developing nations if they are just to maintain their present progress of economic development in 1974 and 1975. That startling statistic alone should make us give particular attention to what Secretary Kissinger said last week.

The fact is that we no longer live in a world divided between the haves and the have nots. The United States must now depend upon others just as they must depend upon us. That idea may be uncomfortable for many people because it is new. But it is a fact, nonetheless, and will be true for a long time to come.

Mr. Speaker, I include Secretary Kissinger's speech below as well as editorials on it from the New York Times and Washington Post and an excellent article by James Reston on the special session on raw materials now going on at the United Nations:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 17, 1974]

#### RESOURCES FOR MANKIND

Secretary of State Kissinger's stress at the United Nations on the interdependence of developed and developing nations points the way to progress on excruciating resources problems now facing mankind.

Confrontation, cartels, production restrictions and steep price rises by other raw material producers on the model of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries can only lead to global inflation and global recession, from which no one would ultimately benefit. The developing nations that lack the few key resources susceptible of this treatment would be the chief immediate victims of such an approach.

Even the raw material cartels are unlikely to benefit very long. Alternative sources will be developed. And raw material producers would ultimately pay for exorbitant commodity prices by the increased costs of the goods they must import.

The "new dialogue" Mr. Kissinger has proposed between producers and consumers must face up to the problem of defining the "optimum price" for scarce materials—one "that can be maintained over the longest period at the level that assures the highest real income. . . . Only through cooperation between consumers and producers can such a price be determined," he noted. "And an expanding world economy is an essential prerequisite."

Within this concept of expanding world production and income, more equitably distributed at fair prices, Mr. Kissinger committed the United States to a major effort at world cooperation in the common interest. It is a commitment that, despite some vagueness in detail, the General Assembly would be wise to seize and explore.

The six "problem areas" Mr. Kissinger sketched out for international cooperation, with the United States offering to make major contributions, address the central dilemmas of development in the poor nations—and the collaboration of rich, poor and newly-rich that must be achieved. It is a global vision of the kind that long has been needed in Washington. It now has to be filled in.

Neither in detail nor in machinery proposed is Mr. Kissinger's speech the be-all and end-all. But it is a challenge to mankind that the nations whose representatives are assembled at the U.N. would be wise to accept in a vigorous new effort to substitute the concept of world community for national egoism.

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[From the New York Times, Apr. 15, 1974]

#### GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE

In his opening address to the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General Waldheim dealt persuasively with issues whose urgency has unfortunately been overshadowed by divisive international politics. Many of Mr. Waldheim's arguments in support of a rational approach to the production and consumption of the world's resources deserve a sympathetic response from Washington, when Secretary of State Kissinger speaks to the Assembly today.

The question that hovers over the conference is how to break through the wall of suspicion that the proceedings may merely be a pretext for another round in the power struggle between the developing and the industrialized nations. Indeed, the representatives of China and the Soviet Union have already availed themselves of the forum to replay the record of their own hostilities, along with a bid for the allegiance of the have-not countries and the politics of the Third World.

Even many delegates who applaud the special session's stated purpose simply believe that President Boumedienne of Algeria proposed the conference primarily to divert attention from the Arab nations' recent oil manipulations, with their catastrophic impact on many developing countries.

Conscious of such fears and suspicions, Mr. Waldheim pleaded for recognition of a new need for a policy of interdependence and for agreements which would render that interdependence "a positive rather than a negative force."

Without what Mr. Waldheim called "the political will" for action, the conditions of acute maldistribution of raw materials, dramatized by the recent confrontations over oil, will propel mankind either toward starvation or to industrial breakdown respectively in poor and rich nations, with similarly disastrous social, economic and political consequences in both.

There are many legitimate differences in perspective among various nations and groups, as they contemplate the effects of rising prices or growing shortages in raw materials and food, and as they try to balance instant demands for natural resources with the long-term necessity of preserving man's natural environment. Such differences, however, must not be allowed to detract from what Secretary General Waldheim called the main theme of the special session—"to secure the optimum use of the world's natural resources with the basic objective of securing better conditions of social justice throughout the world."

It is to this theme that we hope Secretary Kissinger will respond today, in an effort to persuade the Assembly that the United States is not so engrossed with Operation Independence that it fails to comprehend the risk of standing apart in an interdependent world.

#### THE FORGOTTEN REALITIES

(By James Reston)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., April 11.—The nations of the world are gathered here at the big peace palace on the East River to discuss one of the most fundamental questions of the future—the supply, price and distribution of food, oil and the other essential raw materials of life—and the odd and tragic thing about it is that very few people, newspapers, or networks are paying any attention to the debate.

This is very strange. Nothing touches the life of the people more than the supply and cost of essential commodities. Even in America, citizens have been lining up, on odd and even days, for gas, and fairly soon there will be shortages of aluminum, copper and other

metals necessary to the industries of the United States.

What is going on here at the U.N. is a discussion between the producers and consumers of oil, bauxite, food and other raw materials. They have come together to get beyond their immediate arguments and find out whether they can reach agreement about fair supplies, distribution and prices for the future.

It is interesting that this conference was called by President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria, who has no diplomatic relations with the United States, but who is asking for a new relationship between the industrial world and the developing world, and has come to the United States for the first time.

He was very careful here to open the way to compromise, but he insisted on the rights of the nations that produce the oil and other essential raw materials.

"The raw-material producing countries," he said, "insist on being masters in their own houses." He was expressing ancient grievances of the poor countries against the rich countries, and asking what could be done about it, and threatening that if nothing was done about it, the underdeveloped nations would create more cartels, like the oil cartel, and confront the industrial nations in a struggle for survival.

In many ways, this is a silly threat. It is easier to create an oil cartel than a cartel for bauxite, copper or coffee, but strange things are happening in this fight over raw materials. For example, spectacular new resources of copper have been discovered in Iran, which may now have more copper resources in the future than Chile, so the industrial nations have to pay attention to what is happening in their relationships with the underdeveloped nations that are producing more and more of the raw materials essential in the West.

If this is right, it is curious that the American press has paid so little attention to President Boumedienne, particularly since all the major nations have sent their foreign ministers here to participate in the debate.

Andrei Gromyko is here, watching this confrontation between the poor producing countries and the rich consuming countries. Henry Kissinger will be here next week. Michel Jobert of France has been in the General Assembly, despite all the political struggles in Paris, to state his country's views of the problem.

Yet what they all had to say about this worldwide crisis has had less space in the papers or on the television in America than President Nixon's political adventure into Michigan, or Hank Aaron's home run, or Randolph Hearst's missing daughter.

This is not an argument for ignoring the Watergate controversy, or all the maneuvers and manipulations in the impeachment process, but merely a reminder that other things are going on in the world, more important and enduring than what happens to President Nixon.

It is sad to watch Secretary General Waldheim here at the United Nations trying to get a hearing for the fundamental question in the world. He is concerned about this problem of raw materials. He sees the 100 nations in the United Nations, representing two billion people, almost half of them living below the level of poverty, and he cries out to the world to look at the elemental facts of the human condition.

But nobody listens to him. He has press conferences and makes speeches, but they end up behind the obits. How can we bring the great questions of life to the attention of the people, he asks, and it is hard to answer.

Henry Kissinger agrees with this, and longs for attention to Secretary Waldheim's questions. But the press and the television pay more attention to Mr. Kissinger's mar-



riage than to his policies, and he wonders why. Next week he will be here at the United Nations, arguing for historic perspective, insisting on some order about the supply, distribution and prices of raw materials, but he is not very optimistic. There is something about the fundamental things that are real but don't seem real to the press and the television, something too complicated or abstract.

Still, Mr. Kissinger insists, he will try to make clear that this question of raw materials, prices and distribution may be more important than anything else we are now discussing.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 17, 1974]

#### MORALITY AND THE WORLD'S RESOURCES

The sweep and range of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's address on resources at the United Nations constitute its virtue, and a very great one. The address was a noble declaration of intentions. Its defect was, of course, that the world has no machinery to carry out these purposes. The goals that Mr. Kissinger listed are the right ones. The large question now is whether this country can find practical ways to move the world toward achieving them.

It has to be noted, unfortunately, that the United Nations has become notorious as a place where statesmen give speeches of the most elevated character, and are warmly applauded—and that is that. It also has to be noted, equally unfortunately, that the administration's broadcast statements of high intention also tend not to be well prepared. It is just about a year since Mr. Kissinger's Year of Europe speech which, as time passed, proved an affront to our friends and an embarrassment to its author. It is clearly better for the Secretary of State to give good speeches than not—even when, like other sensible men, he knows that the consequences are in doubt. But having given the speech, it is also better to pursue forcefully the ideals that it declares.

The Secretary's address to the United Nations described the world that a wise and well-informed man sees when he raises his eyes from the daily minutiae of diplomatic negotiation. It is a world in which high oil prices cause fertilizer shortages which, in turn, create food shortages and starvation. It is a world in which sudden unexpected swings in prices have disrupted production and destabilized economies, not only among the poor and traditionally vulnerable nations. It is a world in which the rich nations are beginning to see that inflation is not simply the opposite of unemployment but, in itself, a rising threat to their prosperity.

Much of the address follows lines sketched out in earlier administration statements over the past several months, particularly in President Nixon's Economic Report two months ago. Then the President was mainly speaking to Americans, while at the United Nations Mr. Kissinger was mainly speaking to the rest of the world. But the same point is cardinal to both documents: We cannot afford to define our own national interests in terms antagonistic to the rest of the world's. As the world's richest nation, we continue to have the responsibility to exercise a stabilizing influence on the world's markets. There is also a second muted but explicit message: The United States understands the change that has come over the world's economic geography within the past two or three years. We are no longer the world's only really rich nation. We are no longer immune to foreign competition, or able merely to turn it away when it proves irritating. We are no longer guaranteed an unrestricted first choice of our agricultural production, with the luxury of treating the rest of the world as a dumping market.

Secretary Kissinger's speech is not simply

a statement of good intentions. More substantially, it is an acknowledgment that things have changed fundamentally since the last period, nearly two decades ago, in which American Secretaries of State were compelled to take a serious and sustained interest in economic development.

The practical difficulties in pursuing Mr. Kissinger's objectives are only too evident. The developed nations, he says, must maintain their traditional programs of foreign aid. Very true. But the House of Representatives voted last January to kill the crucial U.S. contribution to the World Bank. "A new commitment is required by both developed and developing nations to an open trading system . . ." Quite right. Does that mean that the Nixon administration is prepared to reconsider the quotas that it has imposed on a vast variety of imports from textiles to steel? The prevailing restrictions on trade "must receive high priority." Also right. But the administration's trade bill, on which its whole trade policy rests, is now a full year behind schedule and remains entangled in the issue of Jewish emigration from Russia.

Mr. Kissinger repeated his call for a world food conference. "A protracted imbalance in food and population growth will guarantee mass starvation—a moral catastrophe the world community cannot tolerate." Exactly so. But rebuilding the world's food reserves implies a system of price stabilizers to which all nations would agree. Coming closer to home, it would require the Nixon administration to find a new Secretary of Agriculture who, unlike Earl Butz, would not be single-mindedly committed to getting the highest possible price for every last bushel of grain that has gone abroad. While everyone understands the damage that the new oil prices are doing to the economies of the poor countries, Americans need to keep in mind that over the past two years the soaring prices of our grain and soybeans have directly imperiled the food supplies of some of those same countries.

On the matter of oil, Mr. Kissinger calls for "a new dialogue among producers and consumers." The address to the United Nations was doubtless not the place to take up in any detail the recent tribulations of oil diplomacy. But the Secretary's phrase slides a bit too easily past the dismaying experience of the past winter, when competing American and French initiatives succeeded, at least for the time being, in stalemating each other to the benefit of no one.

One signal merit of the address is that the administration no longer speaks solely in terms of forcing down world oil prices. Secretary Kissinger was most emphatic and explicit on the technical and financial opportunities that this country is prepared to extend to the oil-producing countries to ensure their future prosperity. "Reasonable cost" is still the aim, but the administration is now evidently prepared to be a good deal more explicit about the benefits to Arabs, Iranians and Venezuelans in being reasonable.

The true weight and importance of the Secretary's address cannot be discovered in the text itself, but only in its consequences as they unfold over the months to come. If they are vigorous and well-conceived, it may very well be seen in retrospect as a statement of large historical importance. Secretary Kissinger has greatly elevated the country's foreign economic policy. But having done this much, he has committed himself to doing much more.

#### THE CHALLENGE OF INTERDEPENDENCE

(Address by the Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, before the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, April 15, 1974)  
Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are gathered here in a continuing venture

to realize mankind's hopes for a more prosperous, humane, just and cooperative world.

As members of this Organization we are pledged not only to free the world from the scourge of war, but to free mankind from the fear of hunger, poverty and disease. The quest for justice and dignity—which finds expression in the economic and social articles of the United Nations Charter—has global meaning in an age of instantaneous communication. Improving the quality of human life has become a universal political demand, a technical possibility and a moral imperative.

We meet here at a moment when the world economy is under severe stress. The energy crisis first dramatized its fragility. But the issues transcend that particular crisis. Each of the problems we face—of combating inflation and stimulating growth, of feeding the hungry and lifting the impoverished, of the scarcity of physical resources and the surplus of despair—is part of an interrelated global problem.

Let us begin by discarding outdated generalities and sterile slogans we have—all of us—lived with for so long.

The great issues of development can no longer be realistically perceived in terms of confrontation between the haves and the have nots or as a struggle over the distribution of static wealth. Whatever our ideological belief or social structure, we are part of a single international economic system on which all of our national economic objectives depend. No nation or bloc of nations can unilaterally determine the shape of the future.

If the strong attempt to impose their views, they will do so at the cost of justice and thus provoke upheaval.

If the weak resort to pressure, they will do so at the risk of world prosperity and thus provoke despair.

The organization of one group of countries as a bloc will sooner or later produce the organization of the potential victims into a counterbloc. The transfer of resources from the developed to the developing nations—essential to all hopes for progress—can only take place with the support of the technologically advanced countries. The politics of pressure and threats will undermine the domestic base of this support. The danger of economic stagnation stimulates new barriers to trade and the transfer of resources.

We in this Assembly must come to terms with the fact of our interdependence.

The contemporary world can no longer be encompassed in traditional stereotypes. The notion of the northern rich and the southern poor has been shattered. The world is composed not of two sets of interest but many: developed nations which are energy suppliers and developing nations which are energy consumers; market economies and non-market economies; capital providers and capital recipients.

The world economy is a sensitive set of relationships in which actions can easily set off a vicious spiral of counteractions deeply affecting all countries, developing as well as technologically advanced. Global inflation erodes the capacity to import. A reduction in the rate of world growth reduces export prospects. Exorbitantly high prices lower consumption, spur alternative production and foster development of substitutes.

We are all engaged in a common enterprise. No nation or group of nations can gain by pushing its claim beyond the limits that sustain world economic growth. No one benefits from basing progress on tests of strength.

For the first time in history mankind has the technical possibility to escape the scourges that used to be considered inevitable. Global communication ensures that the thrust of human aspirations becomes universal. Mankind insistently identifies justice with the betterment of the human con-

dition. Thus economics, technology and the sweep of human values impose a recognition of our interdependence and of the necessity of our collaboration.

Let us resolve to act with both realism and compassion to reach a new understanding of the human condition.

On that understanding, let us base a new relationship which evokes the commitment of all nations because it serves the interests of all peoples.

We can build a just world only if we work together.

#### THE GLOBAL AGENDA

The fundamental challenge before this session is to translate the acknowledgement of our common destiny into a new commitment to common action, to insure developed and developing nations alike to perceive and pursue their national interest by contributing to the global interest. The developing nations can meet the aspirations of their peoples only in an open expending world economy where they can expect to find larger markets, capital resources and support for official assistance. The developed nations can convince their people to contribute to that goal only in an environment of political cooperation.

On behalf of President Nixon, I pledge the United States to a major effort in support of development. My country dedicates itself to this enterprise because our children must not live in a world of brutal inequality, because peace cannot be maintained unless all share in its benefits and because America has never believed that the values of justice, well-being and human dignity could be realized by one nation alone.

We begin with the imperative of peace. The hopes of development will be mocked if resources continue to be consumed in an ever increasing spiral of armaments. The relaxation of tensions is thus in the world interest. No nation can profit from confrontations that can culminate in nuclear war. At the same time, the United States will never seek stability at the expense of others. It strives for the peace of cooperation, not the illusory tranquility of condominium.

But peace is more than the absence of war. It is ennobled by making possible the realization of humane aspirations. To this purpose this Assembly is dedicated.

Our goal cannot be reached by resolutions alone or prescribed by rhetoric. It must remain the subject of constant, unremitting efforts over the years and decades ahead.

In this spirit of describing the world as it is, I would like to identify for the Assembly six problem areas which in the view of the United States delegation must be solved to spur both the world economy and world development. I do so not with the attitude of presenting blueprints but of defining common tasks to whose solution the United States offers its wholehearted cooperation.

First, a global economy requires an expanding supply of energy at an equitable price.

No subject illustrates global interdependence more emphatically than the field of energy. No nation has an interest in prices that can set off an inflationary spiral which in time reduces income for all. For example, the price of fertilizer has risen in direct proportion to the price of oil, putting it beyond the reach of many of the poorest nations and thus contributing to worldwide food shortages. A comprehension by both producers and consumers of each other's needs is therefore essential:

Consumers must understand the desires of the oil producers for higher levels of income over the long-term future.

Producers must understand that the recent rise in energy prices has placed a great burden on all consumers, one virtually impossible for some to bear.

All nations have an interest in agreeing on a level of prices which contributes to an expanding world economy and which can be sustained.

The United States called the Washington Energy Conference for one central purpose: to move urgently to resolve the energy problem on the basis of cooperation among all nations. The tasks we defined there can become a global agenda for action.

Nations, particularly developed nations, waste vast amounts of existing energy supplies. We need a new commitment to global conservation and to more efficient use of existing supplies.

The oil producers themselves have noted that the demands of this decade cannot be met unless we expand available supplies. We need a massive and cooperative effort to develop alternative sources of conventional fuels.

The needs of future generations require that we develop new and renewable sources of supply. In this field, the developed nations can make a particularly valuable contribution to our common goal of abundant energy at reasonable cost.

Such a program cannot be achieved by any one group of countries. It must draw on the strength and meet the needs of all nations in a new dialogue among producers and consumers. In such a dialogue the United States will take account of the concern of the producing countries that the future of their peoples not depend on oil alone. The United States is willing to help broaden the base of their economies and develop secure and diversified sources of income. We are prepared to facilitate the transfer of technology and assist industrialization. We will accept substantial investment of the capital of oil producing countries in the United States. We will support a greater role for the oil producers in international financial organizations as well as an increase in their voting power.

Second, a healthy global economy requires that both consumers and producers escape from the cycle of raw material surplus and shortage which threatens all our economies.

The principles which apply to energy apply as well to the general problem of raw materials. It is tempting to think of cartels of raw material producers to negotiate for higher prices. But such a course could have serious consequences for all countries. Large price increases coupled with production restrictions involve potential disaster: global inflation followed by global recession from which no nation could escape.

Moreover, resources are spread unevenly across the globe. Some of the poorest nations have few natural resources to export, and some of the richest nations are major commodity producers.

Commodity producers will discover that they are by no means insulated from the consequences of their restrictions on supply or the escalation of prices. A recession in the industrial countries sharply reduces demand. Uneconomical prices for raw materials accelerate the transition to alternatives. And as they pursue industrialization, raw material producers will ultimately pay for exorbitant commodity prices by the increased costs of the goods they must import.

Thus the optimum price is one that can be maintained over the longest period at the level that assures the highest real income. Only through cooperation between consumers and producers can such a price be determined. And an expanding world economy is an essential prerequisite. Such a cooperative effort must include urgent international consideration of restrictions on incentives for the trade in commodities. This issue must receive high priority in GATT—dealing with access to supply as well as access to markets—as we seek to revise and modernize the rules and conditions of international trade.

In the long term, our hopes for world prosperity will depend on our ability to discern the long-range patterns of supply and demand and to forecast future imbalances so

as to avert dangerous cycles of surplus and shortage.

For the first time in history it is technically within our grasp to relate the resources of this planet to man's needs. The United States therefore urges that an international group of experts, working closely with the United Nations division of resources, be asked to undertake immediately a comprehensive survey of the earth's non-renewable and renewable resources. This should include the development of a global early warning system to foreshadow impending surpluses and scarcities.

Third, the global economy must achieve a balance between food production and population growth and must restore the capacity to meet food emergencies. A condition in which one billion people suffer from malnutrition is consistent with no concept of justice.

Since 1969, global production of cereals has not kept pace with world demand. As a result current reserves are at their lowest level in 20 years. A significant crop failure today is likely to produce a major disaster. A protracted imbalance in food and population growth will guarantee massive starvation—a moral catastrophe the world community cannot tolerate.

No nation can deal with this problem alone. The responsibility rests with us all. The developing nations must commit themselves to significant assistance for food and population programs. The developing nations must reduce the imbalance between population and food which could jeopardize not only their own progress but the stability of the world.

The United States recognizes the responsibility of leadership it bears by virtue of its extraordinary agricultural productivity. We strongly support a global cooperative effort to increase food production. This is why we proposed a world food conference at last year's session of the General Assembly.

Looking toward that conference, we have removed all domestic restrictions on production. Our farmers have vastly increased the acreage under cultivation and gathered record harvests in 1973. 1974 promises to be even better. If all nations make a similar effort, we believe the recent rise in food prices will abate this year, as it has in recent weeks. Indeed the price of wheat has come down 35 percent from its February peak and the price of soybeans 50 percent from its peak last summer.

The United States is determined to take additional steps. Specifically:

We are prepared to join with other governments in a major worldwide effort to rebuild food reserves. A central objective of the World Food Conference must be to restore the world's capacity to deal with famine and other emergencies.

We shall assign priority in our aid program to helping developing nations substantially raise their agricultural production. We hope to increase our assistance to such programs from \$258 to \$675 million this year.

We shall make a major effort to increase the quantity of food aid over the level we provided last year.

For countries living near the margin of starvation, even a small reduction in yields can produce intolerable consequences. Thus the shortage of fertilizer and the steep rise in its price is a problem of particular urgency—above all for countries dependent on the new high-yield varieties of grain. The first critical step is for all nations to utilize fully existing capabilities. The United States is now operating its fertilizer industry at near capacity. The United States is ready to provide assistance to other nations in improving the operation of plants and to make more effective use of fertilizers.

But this will not be enough. Existing worldwide capacity is clearly inadequate to present



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needs. The United States would be prepared to offer its technical skills to developing a new fertilizer industry especially in oil-producing countries using raw materials and capital they uniquely possess.

We also urge the establishment of an international fertilizer institute as part of a larger effort to focus international action on two specific areas of research; improving the effectiveness of chemical fertilizers, especially in tropical agriculture, and new methods to produce fertilizers from non-petroleum resources. The United States will contribute facilities, technology and expertise to such an undertaking.

Fourth, a global economy under stress cannot allow the poorest nations to be overwhelmed.

The debate between raw material producers and consumers threatens to overlook that substantial part of humanity which does not produce raw materials, grows insufficient food for its needs and has not adequately industrialized. This group of nations, already at the margin of existence, has no recourse to pay the higher prices for the fuel, food and fertilizer imports on which their survival depends.

Thus, the people least able to afford it—a third of mankind—are the most profoundly threatened by an inflationary world economy. They face the despair of abandoned hopes for development and the threat of starvation. Their needs require our most urgent attention. The nations assembled here in the name of justice cannot stand idly by in the face of tragic consequences for which many of them are partially responsible.

We welcome the steps the oil producers have already taken towards applying their new surplus revenues to these needs. The magnitude of the problem requires, and the magnitude of their resources permits, a truly massive effort.

The developed nations too have an obligation to help. Despite the prospect of unprecedented payments deficits, they must maintain their traditional programs of assistance and expand them if possible. Failure to do so would penalize the lower income countries twice. The United States is committed to continue its program and pledges its ongoing support for an early replenishment of the International Development Association. In addition we are prepared to consider with what additional measures are required to mitigate the effect of recent commodity price rises on low-income countries least able to bear this.

Fifth, in a global economy of physical scarcity, science and technology are becoming our most precious resource. No human activity is less national in character than the field of science.

No development effort offers more hope than joint technical and scientific cooperation.

Man's technical genius has given us labor-saving technology, healthier populations, and the green revolution. But it has also produced a technology that consumes recourse at an ever-expanding rate; a population explosion which presses against the earth's finite living space; and an agriculture increasingly dependent on the products of industry.

Let us now apply science to the problems which science has helped to create.

To help meet the developing nation's two most fundamental problems—unemployment and hunger—there is an urgent need for farming technologies that are both productive and labor-intensive. The United States is prepared to contribute to international programs to develop and apply this technology.

The technology of birth control should be improved.

At current rates of growth, the world's need for energy will more than triple by the

end of this century. To meet this challenge, the United States Government is allocating \$12 billion for energy research and development over the next five years, and American private industry will spend over \$200 billion to increase energy supplies. We are prepared to apply the results of our massive needs of other nations.

The poorest nations, already beset by man-made disasters, have been threatened by a natural one: the possibility of climatic changes in the monsoon belt and perhaps throughout the world. The implications for global food and population policies are ominous. The United States proposes that the International Council of Scientific Unions and the World Meteorological Organization urgently investigate this problem and offer guidelines for immediate international action.

Sixth, the global economy requires a trade, monetary and investment system that sustains industrial civilization and stimulates its growth.

Not since the 1930s has the economic system of the world faced such a test. The disruptions of the oil price rises; the threat of global inflation; the cycle of contraction of exports and protectionist restrictions; the massive shift in the world's financial flows; and the likely concentration of invested surplus oil revenue in a few countries—all threaten to smother the once-proud dreams of universal progress with stagnation and despair.

A new commitment is required by both developed and developing nations to an open trading system, a flexible but stable monetary system, and a positive climate for the free flow of resources, both public and private.

To this end the United States proposes that all nations here pledge themselves to avoid trade and payments restrictions in an effort to adjust to higher commodity prices.

The United States is prepared to keep open its capital markets, so that capital can be recycled to developing countries hardest hit by the current crisis.

In the essential struggle to regain control over global inflation, the United States is willing to join in an international commitment to pursue responsible fiscal and monetary policies. To foster an open trading world, the United States, already the largest importer of developing nation manufactures, is prepared to open its markets further to these products. We shall work in the multilateral trade negotiations to reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers on as wide a front as possible.

In line with this approach we are urging our Congress to authorize the generalized tariff preferences which are of such significance to developing countries.

#### CONCLUSION

All too often international gatherings end with speeches filed away and resolutions passed and forgotten. We must not let this happen to the problem of development. The complex and urgent issues at hand will not yield to rhetorical flourishes or eloquent documents. Their resolution requires a sustained and determined pursuit in the great family of United Nations and other international organizations that have the broad competence to deal with them.

As President Nixon stated to this Assembly in 1969:

"Surely if one lesson above all rings resoundingly among the many shattered hopes in this world, it is that good words are not a substitute for hard deeds and noble rhetoric is no guarantee of noble results."

This Assembly should strengthen our commitment to find cooperative solutions within the appropriate forums such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the GATT, and the World Food and Population Conferences.

The United States commits itself to a wide-ranging multilateral effort.

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, we gather here today because our economic and moral challenges have become political challenges. Our unprecedented agenda of global consultations in 1974 already implies a collective decision to elevate our concern for man's elementary well-being to the highest political level. Our presence implies our recognition that a challenge of this magnitude cannot be solved by a world fragmented into self-contained nation states or competing blocs.

Our task now is to match our physical needs with our political vision.

President Boumediene cited the Marshall Plan of a quarter century ago as an example of the possibility of mobilizing resources for development ends. But then the driving force was a shared sense of purpose, of values and of destination. As yet we lack a comparable sense of purpose with respect to development. This is our first requirement. Development requires above all a spirit of cooperation, a belief that with all our differences we are part of a larger community in which wealth is an obligation, resources a trust, and joint action a necessity.

We need mutual respect for the aspirations of the developing and the concerns of the developed nations. This is why the United States has supported the concept of a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States put forward by President Echeverria of Mexico.

The late President Radhakrishnan of India once wrote:

"We are not the helpless tools of determinism. Though humanity renews itself from its past, it is also developing something new and unforeseen. Today we have to make a new start with our minds and hearts."

The effort we make in the years to come is thus a test of the freedom of the human spirit.

Let us affirm today that we are faced with a common challenge and can only meet it jointly.

Let us candidly acknowledge our different perspectives and then proceed to build on what unites us.

Let us transform the concept of world community from a slogan into an attitude.

In this spirit let us be the masters of our common fate so that history will record that this is the year that mankind at last began to conquer its noblest and most humane challenge.

**AMNESTY: "A MORAL FORGIVENESS"—POSITION PAPER OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**

**HON. ANDREW YOUNG**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on April 4, 1974—exactly 6 years after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, presented to the Congressional Black Caucus a position paper on amnesty. SCLC is, of course, the organization through which Dr. King worked as its founding president. This paper is consistent with the organization's advocacy of nonviolent social change which includes reconciliation of human conflict. I submit the paper for the RECORD:

# AMNESTY: "A MORAL FORGIVENESS"—THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Presented to the Congressional Black Caucus, Mr. Augustus Adair, executive director, the Honorable Charles B. Rangel, chairman.

## MEMBERS

Yvonne Burke, Calif.  
Shirley Chisholm, N.Y.  
William Clay, Mo.  
Cardiss Collins, Ill.  
John Conyers, Mich.  
Ronald Dellums, Calif.  
Charles Diggs, Jr., Mich.  
Walter E. Fauntroy, Wash., D.C.  
Augustus F. Hawkins, Calif.  
Barbara Jordan, Texas.  
Ralph Metcalfe, Ill.  
Parren J. Mitchell, Md.  
Robert N. C. Nix, Pa.  
Charles B. Rangel, N.Y.  
Louis Stokes, Ohio.  
Andrew Young, Ga.  
April 4, 1974, Washington, D.C.  
Ralph David Abernathy, president.

## WHAT IS AMNESTY?

Amnesty is the discretionary act of a sovereign state of deciding to abstain from prosecuting groups of citizens who may be in conflict with the law for political reasons. Amnesty is the law's "forgetting" (cf. amnesia) of certain acts, in the interest of social justice and reconciliation. It is the law's way of undoing what the law has done. Like pardon, amnesty is not a right but a matter of grace which a government may perform in the interest of society at large. Unlike pardon, amnesty affects not a single person but entire classes of possible law violators, and unlike pardon it does not remit further punishment for someone already convicted of a crime. Rather it is a decision not to raise the issue of whether there has been any criminal conduct.

## WHY SHOULD AMERICA GRANT AMNESTY?

We in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference feel America owes itself the enactment of unconditional amnesty for all war resisters of the Viet Nam era. Those who refused to participate in the war in Southeast Asia and the ones who did participate but were given less than honorable discharges—a governmental undertaking of great moral, political and constitutional courage—ought not to be subject to criminal or administrative punishment. It would be compounding the injustices of this tragic episode in American history if the only people to suffer criminal penalties would be those of the young generation who had the courage to say "NO" to the Viet Nam war. They made the crucial decision of their young lives in the light of what millions of Americans and many of our political and religious leaders said: that the war in Viet Nam was a terrible mistake. And also a ghastly crime because it violated the Constitution of the United States and was not sanctioned by the Congress.

## WHO SHOULD BE GRANTED AMNESTY?

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference advocates universal and unconditional amnesty for all those who have suffered or face criminal or administrative penalties for non-violent acts of evasion or resistance to the draft, to the military, or to the war in Southeast Asia. We seek amnesty for draft refusers, deserters, persons convicted by courts-martial for military offenses not punishable under civilian law, veterans with less-than-honorable discharges, and civilian protesters and resisters to the war.

## HOW MANY PEOPLE WOULD UNCONDITIONAL UNIVERSAL AMNESTY AFFECT?

**Draft refusers:** Some 8,400 men have been convicted by the federal courts for draft violations during the Viet Nam era. The

Selective Service System has referred to the Department of Justice for prosecution some 49,000 additional draft violators. There are about 6,700 draft indictments pending. Unknown thousands never registered for the draft and therefore have no present record of delinquency but are subject to prosecution whenever their violation comes to the attention of the government. No one knows how many files lie unexamined in the draft boards around the country that will reveal draft law violations when someone gets around to checking them.

**Deserters:** According to the Department of Defense, there are now over 45,000 deserters "at large." They are either in exile abroad or they live underground in this country. (Almost 150,000 men deserted from the military per year during the height of the Viet Nam war. Most of them were either apprehended or voluntarily returned to military control.) Many of the deserters did not have the benefits of an advanced education or much reading and discussion about the merits of the war. They could determine only after entering the armed services that they could not accept the depersonalization and racism of military life or the brutalities and insanities of the war. Many saw active and honorable front-line service in Viet Nam only to be so appalled by the senseless destruction of a people and their country that they left the military on their own. To discriminate against deserters in any amnesty would mean to make of amnesty another instrument of discrimination on grounds of class and race, just as the burdens of the draft and of combat fell disproportionately on the poor and the black elements of our society.

**Exiles:** An estimated 40,000 to 55,000 war resisters are in exile abroad, most of them in Canada. A few hundred are in Sweden, Cuba, Algeria, England, France and other countries. The exiles comprise both draft refusers and deserters. Canada admitted about 30,000 draft-age American men as "landed immigrants" during the Viet Nam era, but many of the exiles could not meet the stringent Canadian qualifications for becoming "landed." They entered Canada as "tourists" and have remained there beyond the expiration of their tourist permits. Their "illegal" status is a severe disability (for example, they cannot legally hold jobs), but the Canadian government has not deported or extradited any American who is charged only with violation of the draft law or with desertion.

**Court-martial convictions:** 600,000 men were convicted by military courts of offenses that would not be crimes in a civilian context, over half of them for absence without leave, about one-tenth for disobedience, others for conduct bringing discredit upon the armed forces, and the like. Since these men would not have been in the military but for a war and draft of doubtful constitutionality, their records should be cleared. The proportion of black GI's court-martialed was many times the ratio of the white GI's.

**Less-than-honorable discharges:** About 500,000 Viet Nam-era veterans have less-than-honorable discharges. Such discharges are given either "administratively," that is, without any due process whatever ("general" and "undesirable" discharges), or as a result of court-martial ("bad conduct" and "dishonorable" discharges). Less-than-honorable discharges carry with them severe disabilities, including loss of veterans' benefits, disqualifications for civil service and other employment, for licenses, and the like. Even "honorable" discharges bear code numbers which indicate to government agencies and prospective employers the arbitrary opinion of the military that the veteran was guilty of drug abuse, bed-wetting, disloyalty, apathy, and similar bad habits, thus severely prejudicing the veteran's opportunities. Less-

than-honorable discharges have been the military's favorite device to rid the services of "troublemakers" or to summarily cashier out of the service men who became victims of drug abuse that was so epidemic in Viet Nam and elsewhere in the military. In greatly disproportionate numbers, less-than-honorable discharges were imposed upon men from black communities and from the less well educated and poorer segments of society.

**Civilian protesters and resisters:** During the years of the war in Southeast Asia, hundreds of thousands of Americans protested the war in demonstrations and acts of resistance. Thousands were arrested on charges ranging from the minor, such as disturbance of the peace or trespass, to the very serious, such as conspiracy and violation of the espionage acts. Principled, nonviolent disobedience and resistance to the war in Viet Nam should not carry criminal penalties.

## WILL A POST-VIETNAM BE UNPRECEDENTED?

No. Because amnesty has a long and distinguished tradition in American history. After almost every military engagement in our history, whether at home or abroad, America has extended amnesty to those who found themselves in conflict with national authority over those wars. President Washington extended an amnesty to the Pennsylvania farmers who engaged in the "Whiskey Rebellion." The most famous example is the Civil War, in which the Southern states committed what the Constitution defines as high treason, namely levying war against the United States; yet not a single political or military leader of the Confederacy was ever tried for treason because of the series of amnesties proclaimed by Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. After World War I, President Harding individually pardoned some of the war resisters of that period, including Eugene V. Debs. After World War II, President Truman established an "Amnesty Board," which tried to make judgments about the merits of each of the over 16,000 men convicted of draft violation. The board ultimately recommended only about 11 per cent of the draft violators for presidential pardon, and the selection process discriminated systematically against the black, the poor, the less articulate members of minority groups, and adherents of certain religious sects.

The most recent case of amnesty of great notoriety is the case of former Vice-President Spiro Agnew. Mr. Agnew as we all know was caught "red-handed," charged and convicted of embezzlement and stealing. Yet he was given the very light sentence of a 3-year probation and fined only \$10,000. This of course was a great show of forgiveness by the U.S. government. But really it was amnesty. And these men today deserve it just as Mr. Agnew received it. But amnesty for them should be unconditional because they never committed any crimes.

## WHO CAN GRANT AMNESTY?

The Constitution of the United States gives the President the power to grant pardons for federal crimes and, by extension, to grant amnesties. But amnesty can also be enacted by the Congress. A number of amnesty bills have been introduced in the Congress recently and some hearings have been held, but no bills have been passed from this body as of yet. Why?

We support the intent and purposes of those House bills now under discussion such as H.R. 236, H.R. 3100 and H.R. 5195, which provide for general and unconditional amnesty for all who may be deemed to have violated United States law with regard to the war in Indochina.

## SOME ASK, SHOULD THERE BE AN AMNESTY BOARD TO REVIEW EACH CASE ON THE MERITS?

We feel that this would be a waste of time. Amnesty by its very nature relates to whole classes of political offenders. A case-by-case adjudication of the moral, religious, ideolog-



ical or political bona fides of hundreds of thousands of young men is uncalled for. Aside from the overwhelming administrative or judicial burden such a process would entail, it must also be remembered that any tribunal would have to make extremely delicate judgments about the personal convictions held by these young men years earlier when the act of war resistance occurred. Case-by-case examination of the war resisters would discriminate in favor of the white educated and articulate, who can communicate a philosophical position about the war to persuade some tribunal of the depth of their convictions. The black and the poor would not receive justice by using this process.

SHOULD SOME FORM OF ALTERNATIVE SERVICE BE DEMANDED FROM THE ONES GRANTED AMNESTY?

Absolutely not. Alternative service is a form of punishment. All the resisters have already suffered either the pains of prison, the terrors of underground life, or the hardship of exile. There should be no additional punishment exacted from them. Moreover, no system of forced labor is likely to be socially constructive. They have been punished enough.

WILL AMNESTY CREATE DISRESPECT FOR THE LAW?

No, it will not. Amnesty does not do away with law. Amnesty is a lawful way to undo injustices and destructive hardships created by the law. Since amnesty is a discretionary act, it does not create an incentive for others to ignore or violate laws with impunity, because in the ordinary course of events criminals cannot routinely expect amnesty or pardon. But after the war in Viet Nam, amnesty would enhance a sense that the law is not an instrument of repression against those who act non-violently in the light of their conscientious commitments.

SOME PEOPLE MAY WONDER, WILL AMNESTY DISHONOR THOSE WHO FOUGHT AND DIED IN VIET NAM?

The war in Viet Nam produced neither victory nor honor. It produced only victims—in Southeast Asia and in America. Those who served in the war, those who were wounded, and those who died were victims of the war, just as those who went to jail or into underground life or into exile were victimized by it. Most men who were ordered to fight assumed that they had an obligation to follow the government's orders. Some were eager to do so. They did not act dishonorably or uncourageously by obeying. At the same time, those who thought the war immoral and illegal showed extraordinary courage by defying the power of the United States Government.

HERE IS WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO OBTAIN UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY

A. Confront your elected officials on this issue.

B. Obtain and publicize information about war resisters and amnesty through personal contacts, the media, meetings, and the like.

C. Arrange for public and organizational meetings on amnesty.

D. Identify the families of war resisters in your community and help them organize into an outspoken and visible part of the amnesty movement in conjunction with veterans, ex-prisoners of war, Gold Star Families, and other war victims who support amnesty.

E. Establish and maintain contact with the American and exile organizations (civic, religious, peace, etc.) that work for universal and unconditional amnesty.

F. Urge your local community groups, churches, organizations, legislative bodies and the like to adopt resolutions in support of unconditional amnesty, and send these resolutions to the press, to your Washington representatives and to the President and all of your elected officials.

G. Circulate petitions for amnesty.

H. Urge your local newspaper, radio and

television stations to make space and time available for discussions of amnesty.

I. Make amnesty part of your political platform if you are seeking political office.

#### FACTS AND FIGURES

Men convicted of Draft violations during the Viet Nam Era.....	8,400
Number of prosecutions pending at the Department of Justice.....	49,000
Number of Draft Indictments pending.....	6,700
Deserters "At Large".....	45,000
Number of men deserting from the Military per year during the height of the Viet Nam War.....	150,000
Men in Exile abroad.....	55,000
Court-Martial Convictions during Viet Nam Era.....	600,000
Number of Viet Nam Era Veterans with less than honorable discharges.....	500,000

Most recent case of amnesty being granted to a convicted felon—Spiro T. Agnew, former Vice President of the United States and former Governor of Maryland.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference at this very moment officially requests of you to use your resources and influence, and to do all within your power to bring about the passage of Legislation (or force the President to use his executive powers) that will grant AMNESTY to these innocent men who are facing many years in prison because they refused to participate in the illegal, immoral and unconstitutional Viet-Nam War and also those who did fight courageously in the war but were given less than honorable discharges.

These men stood up for freedom. Now it is time for us to stand up for them. We need YOU to help us win this victory. Will you?

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY,  
President.

#### JUSTICE DELAYED IS JUSTICE DENIED

#### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Stanley Tolliver is a friend of mine, a highly respected lawyer and a long-time fighter for civil rights. He is also the only black lawyer to have been involved in the defense of Kent State students indicted for riot in the tragic events of May 1970. As the result of his tireless efforts, his client, Thomas D. Miller, was acquitted of the charge of second degree riot.

Recently, eight National Guardsmen were indicted for violating the civil rights of the four Kent State students who were slain, and for the others who were injured. On the occasion of those indictments, Mr. Tolliver issued a statement with which I agree completely, and which I wish to share with my colleagues:

CLEVELAND, OHIO,

April 1, 1974.

As one of the lawyers who was involved in the defense of the persons indicted for crime in the Kent State incident, I am very familiar with the old law axiom: "Justice delayed is justice denied."

The recent indictment by the Federal Court illustrates this point. President Nixon's Commission on Campus Violence and Unrest recommended this action several years ago,

yet the indictments were returned only a few days ago. This is *Justice Delayed*.

The same commission found the killings of black students at Jackson State College by local police to be unjustified, but no indictments were returned.

Black students were also killed at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., and at South Carolina State at Orangeburg, but there still are no indictments issued. This is *Justice Denied*.

The lesson that America must learn is that so long as it tolerates Southern Universities, South Carolina States, and Jackson States, there will be further Kent States, tolerated or not.

#### TRAGIC MILESTONE REACHED IN NORTH IRELAND

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, a tragic milestone was reached this past weekend as the death toll reached 1,000 from the sectarian violence which has devastated Northern Ireland. The killings of both Protestants and Catholics, of soldiers and innocent children continues as a way of life in this troubled nation. We can only hope and pray that an alternative to violence can begin to be practiced but unless we find it soon, these 1,000 dead are likely to be followed by countless thousands more.

At this point in the RECORD, I insert an article which was printed in the April edition of Triumph magazine entitled "North Ireland, Why the Violence?"

#### NORTH IRELAND: WHY THE VIOLENCE?

A short time ago, Triumph received a report from Father Denis Faul, a pacifist priest who watches closely the fate of the Catholic people of the North of Ireland. Father Faul condemns all violent acts—whether of the British army, Ulster Protestants or the IRA. But his unswerving dedication to the peace of Christ does not allow him to avert his gaze from the essentially violent and vicious political and social milieu that Britain has maintained in the North's Six Counties in collaboration with her loyalists. The following condensation of the report from Belfast is one case history of such institutionalized violence:

Newtownabbey was . . . formed in 1958 from seven old villages and a number of post-World War II housing estates on the north side of Belfast. . .

Up to 1969 there was one Catholic parish covering the whole area. In that year, due to the rapid increase in the number of Catholics in the area, the parish was divided into five new parishes. These were:

Whitehouse, 4,000; Greencastle, 3,500; Whiteabbey, 2,400; Glengormley, 3,200.

St. Gerard's (Antrim Road), 1,600.

At the time of the division these numbers were increasing, especially in Whiteabbey and Glengormley which are developing areas. In 1969 Catholics formed about 28% of the total population. The expectations were that this percentage would increase. . .

The position in 1974 is:

Whitehouse, 1,800; Greencastle, 3,100;

Whiteabbey, 1,300; Glengormley, 5,500.

St. Gerard's (Antrim Road), 1,850.

Catholics now form about 22% of the total population of Newtownabbey.

Why are Catholics leaving?

Catholics are leaving Whiteabbey and [Whitehouse] for two reasons: intimidation and fear of being assassinated.

#### 1. INTIMIDATION

Until comparatively recently, most of those who left were either actually intimidated, or feared that they would be, due to the general atmosphere of intimidation which prevailed in the area. Protestant extremist groups such as the UVF, UFF, UDA, LAW and Tartans are particularly strong in the district. From time to time members of the UDA in paramilitary dress patrol openly . . . without interference by the security forces [Royal Ulster Constabulary and the British army]. Catholics have sometimes been imprisoned behind UDA barricades. Catholic homes have been petrol-bombed. Young Catholics frequently have been stabbed and beaten. . . .

The following extract from an as yet unpublished report of the Committee Relations Commission indicates the attitude of the police in the area:

"Definite sympathies with the UDA have come to light in our investigations. The loyalist outlook of certain members of the RUC at Whiteabbey and York Road colors their perception, judgment and response in dealing with intimidation and its attendant problems."

#### 2. ASSASSINATION

In recent weeks there is alarming evidence of an organized campaign to assassinate Catholics in the Newtownabbey area. The following [partial] diary of events supports this belief.

December 4, 1973

Catholic home in Greymount Drive, Greencastle, petrol-bombed. Father escaped through the back door; mother, son, and daughter jumped from an upstairs window. All hospitalized for burns. . . .

January 8, 1974

Two Catholic families in Clonbegg Drive, Rathcoole, petrol-bombed.

January 31, 1974

Gunmen robbed a group of 13 workers who were playing cards in their hut at lunch time. . . . Two Catholics were shot dead. . . .

February 11, 1974

A carload of five Catholics from the Bawnmore area of Greencastle was ambushed as it arrived at the Abbey Meat factory, Glenville Road, Whiteabbey, at 7:56 A.M. Thomas Donaghy, 16, was killed; Margaret McErlena, 18, is still critically ill in the hospital; Alice Hughes, less seriously injured, is also in the hospital. The UVF . . . claimed responsibility for the shooting. . . .

February 12, 1974

About midnight, shots were fired into the Poland home at Downpatrick Green, Monks-town. A bullet was found in the mattress on which a young child was sleeping. The Poland family and another Catholic family left the area the next day. . . .

The security forces are not following an impartial line in stamping out terrorism. It is particularly noticeable that in [majority] Protestant areas like Newtownabbey, where the RUC can patrol freely, extremist groups have a free hand to intimidate and assassinate Catholics. On February 15, 1974, a reporter wrote in the [Belfast] News Letter:

"Why choose Newtownabbey for the butchery? One theory is that the random attacks on Roman Catholics within the 60,000 population are aimed at driving them out of the area."

Unless the security forces, particularly the RUC, change their present policy, the assassins will succeed in their objective.

### SHOULD OIL BE PROFITABLE?

#### HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, there is still much interest in the economics of oil and energy production with attention being focused on the causes of the energy crisis. And, as expected, there is wide variation of opinion and thought on this matter. The May 1974 issue of the *Alternative* contains an article on oil economics by Alan Reynolds which I think would be interesting reading for my colleagues in the House.

The article is as follows:

[From the *Alternative*, May 1974]

#### SHOULD OIL BE PROFITABLE?

(By Alan Reynolds)

*It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion.—Edmund Burke (1777)*

You already know the story. Oil companies created the shortage to drive up prices, push the Alaskan pipeline through, soften environmental roadblocks, and weed-out those pesky independents. That is, big oil cut supplies to increase supplies, and raised prices to squeeze competitors. "There are some," wrote Brit Hume (Jack Anderson's Sancho Panza), "who believe the major oil companies conspired to bring about these results." The oil majors "wallowed in profits," added *Time*, "after-tax earnings at Exxon in the third quarter, for example, soared 80 per cent." Such profit increases, reports the *National Observer*, "set off a wave of criticism from lawmakers concerned that the industry may be reaping a windfall from the hardships of millions of citizens."

But third quarter profits obviously had no bearing on the oil crunch, which wasn't even announced until the fourth quarter. To imply that third quarter profits resulted from scarcity ignores the fact that unit sales of the big seven oil companies were up 6 percent in the first three quarters of 1973. Exxon's 80 percent gain in the third quarter was well above the 46 percent average for the "seven sisters." Taking the first nine months of 1973 as a whole, Exxon's profits rose 59 percent above the level of a year before, and sales were up 40 percent. Note that this compares with a 93 percent profit increase for the *New York Times* during the same period, and 57 percent for the *Washington Post*. The brokerage house of Wagenseller & Durst compared the return on stockholder equity of eleven oil majors with the combined return of ABC, CBS, the *New York Times*, *Time*, *Times Mirror*, and the *Washington Post*. The result: 14.7 percent for oil, 22 percent for the oil critics.

The percentage increase game was played again in the fourth quarter, but one had to be even more selective. I don't recall any headlines about the fact that Standard of Ohio's profits were down 40 percent. Significantly, Sohio ranks first among oil companies in domestic reserves per dollar of common stock. So much for self-sufficiency.

Many oil companies continued to do well, however, and Exxon's profits maintained that 59 percent lead. Booming profits were common in 1973, partly because everything expressed in dollars went up (dollars expressed in terms of everything went down). The Department of Commerce attributes 42 percent of the increase in pretax profits of nonfinancial corporations in the first nine months of 1973 to "inventory profit"—i.e., the effect of

inflation in raising the value of inventories. Profits last year were generally exaggerated and overtaxed because of temporary inventory profits, depreciation being allowed only on the preinflation costs of machinery, and the general erosion of the purchasing power of a buck. George Terborgh has adjusted accordingly, and found that after-tax profits of nonfinancial corporations, expressed in 1965 dollars, fell from \$36.1 billion in 1965 to \$18.6 billion in 1973. Adjusted retained earnings, after paying dividends, fell from \$19.2 billion to \$2.1 billion—which is surely a major explanation for the widespread "failure" of industries to invest enough to eliminate shortages.

With this in mind, it is not as easy to be upset because Del Monte's profits were up 82.5 percent in the fourth quarter, or because U.S. Steel's profits were up 91.1 percent, not to mention MGM (profits up 289 percent—I told you not to mention it).

But percentage increases convey no information whatsoever. My weight is up 25 percent—am I fat or thin? My income rose 100 percent in two years—am I rich or poor? In the *New York Times* (January 13, 1974) Tom Wicker reported that Occidental Petroleum had a 417 percent increase in net profits in the first nine months of 1973. What wasn't mentioned is the fact that Occidental's 1972 profits were only four-tenths of one percent of sales, and that Occidental's petroleum operations are almost entirely overseas. Gulf's 1972 profits were a modest 3.2 percent of sales, so they too showed a sizeable (79 percent) increase. Tom Wicker even managed to get a column out of being outraged about Gulf's best quarter.

If oil is so profitable, one would expect critics to put their money where their mouths are. There are more than enough critics to drive the stock prices sky-high. But Exxon's stock rose only 8 percent last year, Mobil's fell 28 percent, and Texaco's fell 22 percent. These are the oil companies with the highest profit gains in the fourth quarter. The apparent paradox is explained by the fact that stock purchases are geared to future earnings, not to the recent past.

Before we get into the prospects for oil profits, several complications should be mentioned. First, most multinationals sell more abroad than they do here. A sizable part of last year's "windfall" (about 30 percent of the increase in Texaco's foreign earnings) was due to the effect of dollar devaluation on foreign currencies held by foreign subsidiaries. Exxon's 59 percent profit gain translates into an 83 percent gain in earnings from over 100 foreign countries, and a 16 percent gain in the United States. Only 16 percent of Exxon's production and 32 percent of its sales are from the United States. Texaco earned 65 percent of its profits abroad, and had only a 3.6 percent gain in profits from U.S. operations. Most European governments attracted ample supplies, and cut demand, by letting gasoline prices rise by about as much as the total price here (the U.S. price if you subtract excise taxes, is still about the same as for distilled water). The "socialist" government of West Germany relied completely on a free-market solution, and now faces the highest growth and lowest inflation in Europe. Italy, like the United States, tried "tough" (stupid) price controls, and thus drained the blood from its economy. No other country has matched our insanity in allocating fuel according to "priorities" (favoritism) and 1972 use.

Second, with all the loose talk about big fish swallowing little fish, it isn't widely noticed that the big fish are foreign: Burmah Oil (London Exchange) acquired Signal, the half-nationalized British Petroleum company will soon have a controlling chunk of Sohio. "I don't think that we should be un-



necessarily pressuring multinational corporations that are based here," warns Attorney General William Saxbe, "they'll just base someplace else. They'll have to." With huge national oil companies developing in most of the oil rich nations, current congressional proposals could help translate the names of the biggest companies into Arabic or Spanish. If we levy stiff U.S. taxes on oil produced and sold abroad, that would put U.S. multinationals at an enormous disadvantage in competition with foreign-based giants like British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell. If we keep domestic crude at half the price of foreign crude (Henry Jackson's brain-storm), foreign producers will be able to attract the lion's share of equipment and expertise.

Third, the oil companies don't just sell oil. Cities Service and Continental Oil are definitely conglomerates; Sohio, Continental, and Occidental own very sizable U.S. coal companies; Gulf operates the new town of Reston, Virginia, and is considering buying Ringling Brothers-Barnum & Bailey Circus. In view of the threats of nationalization, even here, there is every reason to expect more and more oil companies to move out of oil and into other fields. That would certainly be my advice to the oil majors—if they must stay in countries where they aren't welcome, like the United States. There's enough risk in the oil business without adding political caprice.

Fourth, the enormous size of the industry simply means that people choose to buy a lot of their products. *U.S. News & World Report* says, "The oil business is huge . . . its total profits are larger than for any other industry." Tom Wicker complains that "Exxon recently announced the largest annual profit ever earned by any industrial company." These statements have no economic significance whatsoever; both are logically compatible with inadequate profits, or with the absence of a dominant firm within this large international market.

These caveats aside, the oil companies definitely *did* earn "windfall" and "excess" profits in 1973. When inventories have been purchased at a low price, and rising demand allows these inventories to be sold at a high price, the result is an unanticipated "windfall." If the outcome had been widely anticipated, it would not have been possible to purchase the inventories at a low price. This is why windfalls are, by definition, ephemeral. When the oil companies go to replenish their inventories, all concerned—from foreign governments to domestic laborers—will get a piece of the action. Costs will rise to eliminate the windfall. Yet those who are talking about taxing-away the windfall profits (windfalls to governments are apparently o.k.) are not talking about 1973 profits, but about 1974 and beyond.

Few investment advisers are confident that oil company profits are secure, and most are suggesting investing in companies that supply the oil companies (e.g., by building refineries). This indicates that costs are expected to rise more than revenues. About a fourth of the cost of operating a refinery, for example, is fuel to run its boilers: Ironically, this fuel is usually imported from Venezuela, and the cost has soared. I seriously doubt that 1974 oil industry profits on U.S. operations will be as high, as a percentage of sales or equity, as in 1973. Total dollar profits will drop sharply if federal allocation and price controls keep U.S. refineries from drawing foreign oil away from Europe's relatively free markets. Contrary to the prevailing demonology, it is very hard to make as much money on a much smaller volume.

"Excess" profits seems to mean above the average for either the industry or nation. George Shultz, my favorite treasury secretary, figures that the rate of return for twenty-two large oil companies averaged 15.1 percent in 1973. That compares with 10.9 per-

cent for those companies in the previous decade, and about 13 percent for all manufacturing in 1973. Thus, oil profits, at least for these twenty-two firms, were clearly "excessive." Of course, it isn't too hard to beat the industry's own average return on equity, which fell each year from 12.5 percent in 1967 to 8.7 percent in 1972, and was usually below the average for manufacturing.

Now while windfall profits from devaluation or inflation are just a lucky break, excess profits are the stuff that spark, fuel, and lubricate our economy. Even in a hypothetical stationary equilibrium, some profits must be above average to compensate for risk. Excess losses also serve the vital function of telling capital and labor to switch to new techniques or products.

THE COMPARISON OF PROFITS TO INVESTMENT  
FOR TEXACO  
[In millions of dollars]

Year	Net income	Capital and exploratory expenditures
1973	1,292.4	1,333.9
1972	889.0	1,192.9
1971	903.9	1,162.2
1970	822.0	906.1
1969	769.8	791.9
1968	819.6	1,065.3
1967	750.5	893.7
1966	671.8	737.4
1965	590.9	718.9
1964	540.7	604.8

Note: Direct taxes (foreign and domestic) exceeded net income in every year since 1967. About 55 percent of capital and exploratory expenditures were in the United States in 1973.

Yet Congress would, on a dare, tax away excess profits and subsidize excess losses (e.g., Lockheed, Penn Central). "We should consider taxing excessive profits wherever they occur," says Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, "not only petroleum or energy companies, but across the board and throughout industry." The underlying notion is to level every firm up or down to a "fair return"—a variant of the "just price." To the degree that this is tried, and it has been, resources are immobilized and entrepreneurship is stifled (congressmen should be required to read Israel Kirzner's *Competition & Entrepreneurship*). Profits must be free to deviate from the norm, because such deviations are signals for capital to move from losers to winners.

Resources can be devoted to current consumption (making food or fuel) or to expanding capacity for future production (making fertilizer plants or refineries). Land, labor, and machinery can't be doing two things at the same time. Tax and monetary policies encourage consumption and indebtedness, while many government policies discourage or even penalize saving and private investment. Banks, for example, aren't allowed to offer more than about 6 percent interest to small savers—even during a 9 percent inflation. The flood of government bonds is a drain on the private capital market—not a "fiscal stimulus." The result of this sort of thing is that people have the dollars and desire to buy more than can be produced.

Given this shortage of capital, which investment adviser T. J. Holt estimates at \$75 billion, we should nonetheless want to see a sizable chunk being attracted to oil and other goods that are getting scarce and therefore profitable. John Winegar of Chase Manhattan's Energy Economics Division estimates that even the 1973 oil profits will fall short "by more than a billion dollars" of meeting capital needs. Between 1970 and 1985, says Winegar, the petroleum industry will need \$1.35 trillion to keep up with demand—which implies an annual earnings growth of 18 percent. Banks turn out some pretty scholarly research, as a service to their customers (banks, like all industries where

competition is banned, compete in frills). But "asking Chase's view of oil company profits," according to John Lee of the *New York Times*, is like asking Herbert Stein's opinion of President Nixon's budget message. *Time* said something equally cute, and equally libelous, implying that it's all a matter of opinion and bank opinions are too biased to deserve serious consideration. If one must reduce matters so, it should be noted that when the oil companies can't finance operations out of profits, they borrow from banks. Banks do control a lot of oil stock (through pension funds and the like), but it is a simple matter to switch to something more profitable, like soft drinks.

The other side of keeping some profits down, as we noted, is keeping others up. Federal Energy Office favoritism for industries that use a lot of energy is a serious obstruction to necessary adjustments. The rationale, as always, is to "save jobs." But industries that use a lot of energy don't use a lot of labor. Energy-intensive industries should not be artificially insulated, through "priority" allocations, from resource scarcity. If they can't bid oil away from competing uses, that means consumers prefer the other uses—including driving their cars. This isn't an either/or decision, but a matter of marginal adjustments: a decline in the use of plastic containers and aluminum beer cans, an increase in the use of cotton textiles instead of polyester.

Ecologist Barry Commoner wrote a column entitled, "Profit Motive is Root of Our Crises." He reasons that "as power has been increasingly introduced there has been a comparable decrease in labor needed . . . Thus, as power productivity declined [sic], labor productivity increased. . . Profits depend on labor productivity." The conclusion is absolutely wrong, of course. Profits depend on the difference between how much money you take in and how much you spend. Low labor productivity can be very profitable if wages are also low (e.g., Hong Kong). Firms substituted energy for labor partly because energy has been cheaper (not that one can make paint out of labor alone). Labor has been relatively costly because "labor" productivity rose, which in turn is largely due to the use of energy-using machines. Commoner's theory would lead one to believe that labor productivity (and real wages) should fall, and that we should substitute human for nonhuman energy—a strange conclusion indeed. As energy costs rise, events may follow Commoner's prescription. But it is incredible to claim that only profits would be affected. The real motivation behind the use of energy is the desire to have more goodies with less work. That's the definition of an increase in the real wage.

As an illustration of his theory, Commoner complains that "we now use . . . high-compression smog-generating engines instead of low-compression smog-free engines." Commoner must own a very old car. Since the Clean Air Act of 1970, cars have had inefficient low-compression engines with elaborate smog devices, and these changes have increased gasoline consumption by some 300,000 barrels a day. That may be a necessary cost of reasonable air quality, though even Congress is having doubts, but it is hardly a result of the "profit motive." New models are carrying an extra couple of hundred pounds of costly bumpers, which few would voluntarily pay for, and this too cuts mileage. More than half the new cars sold are compact or mini, but they don't get better mileage than a 1954 Cadillac.

I have been accused of simply making "a concise summary of the oil industry's arguments," and favoring "artificial devices which interfere with the free-market mechanisms" (Brit Hume, the *New York Times Magazine*, January 6, 1974). So, I will now demonstrate the proper way to attack the oil industry. First, I have always openly opposed oil import quotas, and would

have few objections to eliminating depletion allowances on new wells. But it seems silly to blame special-interest legislation on the special interests rather than on (a) the mixed economy which allows such things, and (b) corrupt and foolish legislation. Second, the oil industry wrongly blames high consumption on naughty consumers rather than on low prices. Most industry spokesmen have also supported government allocation (with favoritism to big business) and rationing, which is hardly the essence of my position. I have seen few things that I disagreed with more strongly than an obnoxious speech by the president of the American Petroleum Institute in Los Angeles, December 4, 1973: "We are all going to have to really tighten our energy belts," said Frank Ikard. "This will mean . . . fuels allocation, and it probably will mean fuels rationing . . . But any rationing program must be predicated on a sound priorities system. . . . Personal comfort below the priority classes. . . ." Ugh. It wouldn't surprise me a bit if the scoundrels were behind all this talk about federal regulation, since everyone (except Tom Wicker) knows that's the road to minimum price enforcement and taxpayer underwriting of losses (e.g. airlines, trucks, railroads, telephones, stock brokers. . . . Have you ever heard of a regulated industry asking to be deregulated? Okay, one—natural gas—but no others.

Third, the Wall Street Journal (February 7, 1974) notes that after-tax profits in oil have not been quite as high as elsewhere, despite supposedly preferential tax treatment. "So far as we can see," says the Journal, "the only possible interpretation of this is that profit margins in the oil industry have been under competitive pressure, and because of the same pressure the effect of tax breaks has been passed along in lower prices to the consumer." Well, if we knew for sure that the corporate tax was completely shifted to consumers, rather than also coming out of stockholder income and funds available for growth, then we might be able to say that reductions in the corporate tax only benefit consumers. But tax subsidies, and direct subsidies, are usually at least partly capitalized within the price of the favored commodity.

Thus, tax advantages for homeowners drive up the price of houses and residential property. Those who are buying at this late date get no net advantage. Making municipal bonds tax-free drives up their prices and lowers the yield. Similarly, when the depletion allowance was introduced in 1926 it presumably increased the price of oil stock, and attracted producers who would otherwise be unable to cut the mustard. The latter, after all, was the intended effect. Among stockholders, however, only those who got in before the tax break would stand to benefit from it. Conversely, reducing the depleting allowance in 1969 imposed a rather unfair windfall loss on those who had purchased stock at a price reflecting any tax advantage. This surely contributed to the paucity of investment capital in the industry, which is sometimes (e.g., by Tom Wicker) called a "failure" to build sufficient capacity. Thus, while many tax breaks may have been a mistake from the start, they are not easy to get rid of.

Finally, the monopoly issue is as irrelevant as it is implausible. "In theory," says S. David Freeman, director of the Ford Foundation Energy Policy Project, "higher prices will not only dampen demand but provide the incentive for increased supply. This is true if an industry behaves in a competitive manner. But is there competition in the American energy industry?" Freeman doesn't bother to answer the question, but it's a red herring anyway. Once a monopoly has found the wealth-maximizing combination of price and output, it responds to changing supply and demand conditions ex-

actly as a competitive firm would. If that sounds strange, you have been listening to the Big Lie too often, instead of browsing through any good economics text. Try Alchian & Allen's *University Economics* or Roger Miller's *Economics Today*. A hint: If the oil industry could increase profits by cutting supply, why did it wait until 1972-1973 to do so?

Well, these are complex matters. And people are talking economics even when they don't realize it. The trouble is that the discussion is so uniformly poor, especially when conducted by natural scientists and journalists. These people simply don't understand the significance of statistics, the role of profit, or the nature of taxes and monopolies. So why don't they have the decency and humility to just shut up?

#### GILMAN OPPOSES CANAL GIVEAWAY

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, with the convening of the Organization of American States this week, debate over the role of the United States in the Panama Canal is still an issue. I rise in opposition to any further weakening of our sovereignty in that critical region of the Western Hemisphere.

Over the last decade, the United States has been labeled an aggressor in many parts of the world. We have been depicted as the "ugly Americans" by many of our South American neighbors—we have been called "unnecessary intervenors" in Southeast Asia—and that we "carry a big stick" with relation to our European allies. While some of this criticism may in some instances be justified, the growing feeling that the United States should isolate itself and relax its presence in other parts of the world is a naive assessment of our role in international affairs.

The United States is a world leader, mandating our continuing presence in those parts of the world where we have most at stake.

The Panama Canal Zone is not a remote corner of the globe, the canal and Canal Zone are an integral part of the North American coastline. The canal's importance to us, geographically, militarily, and economically is of great consequence to our overall foreign policy.

Historically, the 1903 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty granted the United States use of a 10-mile-wide zone across Panama for the "construction, maintenance, operation, and protection" of a canal.

It is most important that we bear in mind that this territory is a constitutionally acquired domain of the United States, our Nation having paid Panama for this grant and, in addition, the United States having purchased from individual property owners the titles to all privately owned land in the zone. This was a costly acquisition which has become more expensive through the years—it is estimated that our overall investment in Panama having cost the U.S. taxpayers more than \$5 billion.

Our exclusive rights to the zone are

attributable to the initial title, the purchase of the territory and the recognition of our sovereignty by Colombia which was sovereign in the isthmus prior to the Panamanian Revolution of 1903.

Rescinding our sovereignty, in the face of opposition from the existing Government of Panama, would emasculate our ability to defend this strategic military and commercial vantage point.

Over the past few years, our Nation's international diplomacy and progress has flourished. We have made tangible gains in our relationships with formerly estranged nations throughout the world. We have been effective bargainers in some very delicate negotiations. But our successes in international policy have resulted from our ability to deal from a position of strength.

In the years ahead, we must enhance and continue our ability to negotiate by maintaining our strength. In the Western Hemisphere, that means retaining our sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to oppose any attempts to weaken our position in Panama. Maintaining our sovereignty in the zone is a realistic posture for insuring and protecting viability of the strategic Panama Canal Zone.

#### A POET SPEAKS OF IMPEACHMENT

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, Chairman RODINO of the House Judiciary Committee, spoke at the St. John's law alumni luncheon in Brooklyn.

His remarks on this occasion were filled with insight, not only into himself and what he must bring to the terribly momentous task in which he is involved in behalf of the Nation and its constitutional underpinnings, but insight into the process of impeachment. He speaks of principles that men must bring to the founding of a Nation—principles which are the "bedrock" upon which civilization stands.

The chairman quotes the great lawgiver, Justinian, whose bas-relief profile is displayed in the Rayburn Building:

I live and I am free to be myself, under God, and just law, fairly enforced—to live honorably, to injure no other man, to render every man his due.

Mr. Speaker, poetry, the art to which the distinguished chairman is so devoted and in which he is equally practiced, is by its nature universal and transcendent—it must communicate and instill a sharing of a spark of the human mind with all human kind. We are very fortunate in having Chairman RODINO conducting the present inquiry and proceedings. His understanding of the law and the Constitution are blended with the stringent intellectual honesty of a poet, with the sensitivity of a human and humane judge of man's inconsistencies, and with an acute awareness not only of



his awesome responsibilities but with history's judgment.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD at this point Chairman RODINO's extremely interesting and vitally significant remarks.

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE PETER W. RODINO, JR.

Judge Re, Colonel Fromkes, Dean Murphy, Reverend Father Dirvin, members of the faculty, distinguished graduates of St. John's, ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you for your kind words and your warm welcome. It is a pleasure to be with you on a day when so many old friends are getting together and so many memories are being shared.

My own law school, you may know, was across the river, the Newark Law School. You know it today as Rutgers.

The law was not my first choice as a lifetime occupation. I had some early inclinations to be a poet. But it is very difficult to be a successful poet. Some of you may have tried it and know what I mean. It's much easier to be a successful lawyer. Recognizing that, I went into law.

Little did I realize that following that course I would one day be chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, having responsibility for managing the first vice presidential succession in our history, and at the same time being responsible for management of a full-scale presidential impeachment inquiry. Had I had an inkling of things to come, I might have tried a little harder with my poetry.

One thing I have learned from a lifetime in public service is that the people who serve in Congress and in the White House are quite mortal. They are subject to ordinary human strengths and weaknesses. They are capable of rising to incredible heights of wisdom and strength and accomplishment. And they are capable of saying the most stupid things and making the most awful mistakes.

Yet, while public officials are very human, they are set apart from other citizens by the power they are called upon to exercise. As a Member of Congress, and more recently as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, I am called upon daily to participate in the making of decisions that directly affect people's lives. It is an invigorating process, but one which raises the most fundamental personal questions about one's right and one's ability to act on behalf of others.

What does a person bring to this process? One hopes he brings the sum of what he is: His knowledge, his beliefs, the hopes and aspirations he has for those he serves.

We are what we are. As we grow older we not only accumulate knowledge, but just as important, we undergo rearrangements of perspective.

And there is nothing wrong with the kind of inconsistency that might flow over a lifetime from this constant development of one's educational process. For judges, the changes show up in their record of decisions over a period of time. I'm sure most judges and lawyers have noticed that phenomenon. For Congressmen, there is the sometimes inconsistent voting record to reflect upon—and defend at election time. Who among us has not looked back at some point in our lives and wishes we had acted or spoken differently?

To reach for an old phrase, someone once said that consistency was the hobgoblin of small minds. I think there's a lot to that.

My years in Congress have made me more tolerant of inconsistency. But at the same time I have become more conscious of the areas of life where consistency is essential. For there are certain bedrock principles upon which our civilization stands, and which must never be abandoned.

Certainly, one such principle is that a truly legitimate government is a government of laws, not men.

There dwells in all of us the spirit that says, "I live and I am free to be myself, under God, and just law, fairly enforced—to live honorably, to injure no other man, to render every man his due—this from the code of Justinian, one of history's great lawmakers.

Without dedication to this principle, no man is ever truly certain of where he stands in relation to another, or to his government. People will accept the rule of just law, fairly enforced. They will rebel at the prospect of living under more arbitrary systems.

We who work at the Capitol have the opportunity to live with the works of a little known artist by the name of Constantino Brumidi. He was a painter and a sculptor. We remember him as the "Michelangelo of the Capitol" for his many creations. Brumidi signed his great works simply "C. Brumidi, artist, citizen of the United States." Citizen of the United States—what a statement of pride in his citizenship. Why?

That kind of pride and devotion to one's nation stems from the knowledge that one is truly free, and equal to any man, and that his worth as an individual will be protected in full measure by the authority and power of the state, justly administering its laws, which derive from the people. Allegiance is given to a nation which has dedicated itself to the exaltation of the individual and to the dignity of the individual. One pledges allegiance to the American flag—not because it flies over oil wells, skyscrapers, coal mines, great landmarks and vast expanses, or because so much personal wealth can be accumulated under its protection. We honor our flag and our Nation for what it represents to the human spirit.

We all know without reciting them again here, the difficult questions our Nation faces today.

Our system of government is being tested as it has at no time since the Civil War.

The greatest threat, I believe, is posed by an increasing doubt on the part of our citizens that the rule of law is truly supreme in this Nation. No principle is more dear to this Nation than the tenet that ours must be a government of laws and not of men. Just laws, fairly enforced. Laws that stem from sensitivity and compassion, exalting the spirit and dignity of man as well as protecting his property and possessions.

Brumidi exalted this spirit in his art, we have exalted it in our Constitution.

A Constitution that envisioned times of crisis and of peril and which provided the means for the governed to protect themselves from threats to their sovereignty.

As you know, the Congress is now engaged in the exercise of a great constitutional responsibility which will enable the Nation to be assured one way or the other, of the legitimacy of its current executive government. I have the responsibility and the privilege of chairing the committee that will be making a recommendation to the full House of Representatives regarding the first serious presidential impeachment inquiry in more than a century.

I am sure that you are all interested and concerned with specific questions related to the impeachment inquiry. I will say as much as I can on the subject. Article one, section two, clause three of the Constitution provides—"The House has the sole power of impeachment."

The House Committee on the Judiciary has had referred to it a number of resolutions, sponsored by several dozen members of the House, dealing with the subject of the impeachment of the President.

I recall making a statement at the time the Speaker assigned these resolutions to my committee that I hoped that this time would never have come, and it would never have been necessary to consider the possibility of impeaching the President of the United States. I accepted that responsibility to preside over such a momentous task with a deep sense of sadness.

I felt as any responsible American must feel—a terrible sense of concern as to how this whole process will affect the future of our country, that is the way I felt then and I feel more deeply now.

Since the introduction of these resolutions, the committee has moved in what I consider to be a responsible manner in attempting to deal with all of the many considerations involved in the awesome impeachment process.

We have a staff of nearly fifty, engaged in researching all legal and factual issues raised by the resolutions. The staff is headed by John Doar, a distinguished attorney whom many of you may know personally.

During the Congressional recess, which ended Monday, an advisory panel of senior committee members worked with the staff on various aspects of the inquiry. We are working with other committees of Congress, as well as directing the efforts of our own committee investigators. As with any investigation, the nature of the material developed sometimes dictates the manner of the proceeding. Therefore, as I am sure you can well understand, it is difficult to place a timetable on the conclusion of our efforts, but the committee is surely pledged to an expeditious and just investigation.

Every member of the committee shares a belief that the sooner this issue is resolved, the sooner we can all feel a needed sense of stability in the prospects for our National Government. Yet, it would be legally improper and totally out of keeping with the common view of the permanence of our institutions to do less than a thorough and careful job of sorting out the evidence and its implications.

Trial on articles of impeachment, of course, is for the Senate. The impeachment, in this sense, is sometimes seen as merely an analysis of preliminary evidence, which requires no more time than an indictment in an ordinary criminal prosecution.

While there is an analogy to be made between a grand jury indictment and a House approval of impeachment, we must face the very important fact that impeachment is a totally misunderstood concept in our society. Most of our people equate impeachment with conviction. The very act of impeachment by the House might carry to the American people a presumption of guilt against the President, far more so than in a normal pre-trial accusation.

And so we must move with care, because that is our responsibility and our constitutional duty. We owe it to any accused person, and certainly to the President of the United States—the person who is the very embodiment of the national spirit as expressed by tens of millions of people voting in free elections.

I pledge to you that our work will be thorough, that it will be conscientious, and that we will be as fair-minded as mortal men can be in the discharge of such a grave responsibility.

One of the questions that must be answered in the process is whether our dedication to the rule of law is as great as it was at the time of our Nation's founding. It is truly a time of testing for our institutions.

And how ironic that this is occurring so near the solemn anniversary of our Nation's founding. Two hundred years later we are being challenged to renew our confidence in the integrity and validity of our Nation's continuing charter for freedom. I hope that we shall be as equal to this task as others who have come before us, facing similar challenges.

Our actions must stand the test of fairness. They must meet the requirements of legal discipline. And they must be performed with full recognition of a spirit acknowledged by the great law-giver Justinian who gave us this code: "I live and am free to be myself, under God and just law, fairly enforced—to

live honorably, to injure no other man, to render every man his due."

Judge Re, distinguished guests, let me again say how very nice it is to be here at St. John's. I thank you for the privilege of speaking today. I am grateful for the opportunity and honored by your invitation.

#### WHAT A PROFESSOR LEARNED WHEN HE BECAME A "COP"

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend to my colleagues as must reading, the account of a "professor-turned policeman," who has now had the opportunity to be on both sides of the fence in dealing with criminal elements.

Dr. George L. Kirkham, an assistant professor of criminology at Florida State University, had dealt with criminals often in his job as a correctional counselor and mental health worker, but he had never had the benefit of the policeman's point of view and everyday experience first hand.

Dr. Kirkham decided to find out in the only way possible—as a policeman—so he attended a police academy and temporarily became a patrolman in the 800-man Jacksonville-Duval County, Fla., police force. Some very interesting changes took place in this man's perception of the average policeman and the often difficult situations encountered daily by policemen.

The article that follows was printed in the April 22, 1974, issue of U.S. News & World Report by permission of the "FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin" of March 1974:

#### WHAT A PROFESSOR LEARNED WHEN HE BECAME A "COP"

(By Dr. George L. Kirkham)

Persons such as myself, members of the academic community, have traditionally been quick to find fault with the police.

From isolated incidents reported in the various news media, we have fashioned for ourselves a stereotyped image of the police officer. . . . We see the brutal cop, the racist cop, the grafting cop, the discourteous cop. What we do not see, however, is the image of thousands of dedicated men and women struggling against almost impossible odds to preserve our society and everything in it which we cherish.

For some years, first as a student and later as a professor of criminology, I found myself troubled by the fact that most of us who write books and articles on the police have never been policemen ourselves. . . . I decided to take up this challenge: I would become a policeman myself. . . .

As I write this, I have completed over 100 tours of duty as a patrolman. Although still a rookie officer, so much has happened in the short space of six months that I will never again be either the same man or the same scientist who stood in front of the station on that first day. . . .

I had always personally been of the opinion that police officers greatly exaggerate the amount of verbal disrespect and physical abuse to which they are subjected in the line of duty. . . . As a college professor, I had grown accustomed to being treated with uniform respect and deference by those I encountered. I somehow naively assumed that

this same quality of respect would carry over into my new role as a policeman. . . .

I quickly found that my badge and uniform, rather than serving to shield me from such things as disrespect and violence, only acted as a magnet which drew me toward many individuals who hated what I represented. . . .

Several hours into my first evening on the streets, my partner and I were dispatched to a bar in the downtown area to handle a disturbance complaint. Inside, we encountered a large and boisterous drunk who was arguing with the bartender and loudly refusing to leave.

As someone with considerable experience as a correctional counselor and mental-health worker, I hastened to take charge of the situation. "Excuse me, sir," I smiled pleasantly at the drunk, "but I wonder if I could ask you to step outside and talk with me for a minute?"

The man stared at me through bloodshot eyes in disbelief for a second, raising one hand to scratch the stubble of several days' growth of beard. Then suddenly, without warning, it happened: He swung at me, luckily missing my face and striking me on the right shoulder.

I couldn't believe it. What on earth had I done to provoke such a reaction? Before I could recover from my startled condition, he swung again—this time tearing my whistle chain from a shoulder epaulet. After a brief struggle, we had the still-shouting, cursing man locked in the back of our cruiser. I stood there, breathing heavily with my hair in my eyes as I surveyed the damage to my new uniform and looked in bewilderment at my partner, who only smiled and clapped me affectionately on the back.

"Something is very wrong," I remember thinking to myself in the front seat as we headed for the jail. I had used the same kind of gentle, rapport-building approach with countless offenders in prison and probation settings. It had always worked so well there.

What was so different about being a policeman? In the days and weeks which followed, I was to learn the answer to this question the hard way. As a university professor, I had always sought to convey to students the idea that it is a mistake to exercise authority, to make decisions for other people or rely upon orders and commands to accomplish something.

As a police officer myself, I was forced time and again to do just that. For the first time in my life, I encountered individuals who interpreted kindness as weakness, as an invitation to disrespect or violence. I encountered men, women and children who, in fear, desperation or excitement, looked to the person behind my blue uniform and shield for guidance, control and direction. As someone who had always condemned the exercise of authority, the acceptance of myself as an unavoidable symbol of authority came as a bitter lesson.

I found that there was a world of difference between encountering individuals, as I had, in mental-health or correctional settings and facing them as the patrolman must: when they are violent, hysterical, desperate. When I put the uniform of a police officer on, I lost the luxury of sitting in an air-conditioned office with my pipe and books, calmly discussing with a rapist or armed robber the past problems which had led him into trouble with the law.

Such offenders had seemed so innocent, so harmless in the sterile setting of prison. The often-terrible crimes which they had committed were long since past, reduced like their victims to so many printed words on a page.

Now, as a police officer, I began to encounter the offender for the first time as a very real menace to my personal safety and the security of our society. The felon was no longer a harmless figure sitting in blue

denims across my prison desk, a "victim" of society to be treated with compassion and leniency. He became an armed robber fleeing from the scene of a crime, a crazed maniac threatening his family with a gun, someone who might become my killer crouched behind the wheel of a car on a dark street.

Like crime itself, fear quickly ceased to be an impersonal and abstract thing. It became something which I regularly experienced. It was a tightness in my stomach as I approached a warehouse where something had tripped a silent alarm. I could taste it as a dryness in my mouth as we raced with blue lights and siren toward the site of a "Signal Zero" (armed and dangerous) call. For the first time in my life, I came to know—as every policeman knows—the true meaning of fear. . . .

I recall particularly a dramatic lesson in the meaning of fear which took place shortly after I joined the force. My partner and I were on routine patrol one Saturday evening in a deteriorated area of cheap bars and pool halls when we observed a young male double-parked in the middle of the street. I pulled alongside and asked him in a civil manner to either park or drive on, whereupon he began loudly cursing us and shouting that we couldn't make him go anywhere.

An angry crowd began to gather as we got out of our patrol car and approached the man, who was by this time shouting that we were harassing him and calling to bystanders for assistance. As a criminology professor, some months earlier I would have urged that the police officer who was now myself simply leave the car double-parked and move on rather than risk an incident.

As a policeman, however, I had come to realize that an officer can never back down from his responsibility to enforce the law. Whatever the risk to himself, every police officer understands that his ability to back up the lawful authority which he represents is the only thing which stands between civilization and the jungle of lawlessness.

The man continued to curse us and adamantly refused to move his car. As we placed him under arrest and attempted to move him to our cruiser, an unidentified male and female rushed from the crowd which was steadily enlarging and sought to free him. In the ensuing struggle, a hysterical female unsnapped and tried to grab my service revolver, and the now-angry mob began to converge on us.

Suddenly, I was no longer an "ivory-tower" scholar watching typical police "overreaction" to a street incident—but I was part of it and fighting to remain alive and uninjured. I remember the sickening sensation of cold terror which filled my insides as I struggled to reach our car radio. I simultaneously put out a distress call and pressed the hidden electric release button on our shotgun rack as my partner sought to maintain his grip on the prisoner and hold the crowd at bay with his revolver.

How harshly I would have judged the officer who now grabbed the shotgun only a few months before. I rounded the rear of our cruiser with the weapon and shouted at the mob to move back. The memory flashed through my mind that I had always argued that policemen should not be allowed to carry shotguns because of their "offensive" character and the potential damage to community relations as a result of their display.

How readily as a criminology professor I would have condemned the officer who was now myself, trembling with fear and anxiety and menacing an "unarmed" assembly with an "offensive" weapon. But circumstances had dramatically changed my perspective, for now it was my life and safety that were in danger, my wife and child who might be mourning. Not "a policeman" or Patrolman Smith—but me, George Kirkham!

I felt accordingly bitter when I saw the individual who had provoked this near riot back on the streets the next night, laughing as though our charge of "resisting arrest with



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violence" was a big joke. Like my partner, I found myself feeling angry and frustrated shortly afterward when this same individual was allowed to plead guilty to a reduced charge of "breach of peace."

As someone who had always been greatly concerned about the rights of offenders, I now began to consider for the first time the rights of police officers. As a police officer, I felt that my efforts to protect society and maintain my personal safety were menaced by many of the very court decisions and lenient parole-board actions I had always been eager to defend.

An educated man, I could not answer the questions of my fellow officers as to why those who kill and maim policemen, men who are involved in no less honorable an activity than holding our society together, should so often be subjected to minor penalties. I grew weary of carefully following difficult legal restrictions while thugs and hoodlums consistently twisted the law to their own advantage.

I remember standing in the street one evening and reading a heroin pusher his rights, only to have him convulse with laughter halfway through and finish reciting them word for word, from memory. He had been given his "rights" under the law, but what about the rights of those who were the victims of people like himself? For the first time, questions such as these began to bother me.

As a corrections worker and someone raised in a comfortable middle-class home, I had always been insulated from the kind of human misery and tragedy which become part of the policeman's everyday life. Now, the often-terrible sights, sounds and smells of my job began to haunt me hours after I had taken the blue uniform and badge off. . . .

In my new role as a police officer, I found that the victims of crime ceased to be impersonal statistics. As a corrections worker and criminology professor, I had never given much thought to those who are victimized by criminals in our society. Now the sight of so many lives ruthlessly damaged and destroyed by the perpetrators of crime left me preoccupied with the question of society's responsibility to protect the men, women and children who are victimized daily. . . .

The same kinds of daily stresses which affected my fellow officers soon began to take their toll on me. I became sick and tired of being reviled and attacked by criminals who could usually find a most sympathetic audience in judges and jurors eager to understand their side of things and provide them with "another chance." I grew tired of living under the ax of news media and community pressure groups, eager to seize upon the slightest mistake made by myself or a fellow police officer.

As a criminology professor, I had always enjoyed the luxury of having great amounts of time in which to make difficult decisions. As a police officer, however, I found myself forced to make the most-critical choices in a time frame of seconds rather than days: to shoot or not to shoot, to arrest or not to arrest, to give chase or let go—always with the nagging certainty that others, those with great amounts of time in which to analyze and think, stood ready to judge and condemn me for whatever action I might take or fail to take. . . .

I found myself progressively awed by the complexity of tasks faced by men whose work I once thought was fairly simple and straightforward. Indeed, I would like to take the average clinical psychologist or psychiatrist and invite him to function for just a day in the world of the policeman, to confront people whose problems are both serious and in need of immediate solution. I would invite him to walk, as I have, into a smoke-filled pool room where five or six angry men are swinging cues at one another. I would like the prison counselor and parole officer to see their client, Jones—not calm and com-

posed in an office setting but as the street cop sees him: beating his small child with a heavy belt buckle, or kicking his pregnant wife.

I wish that they, and every judge and juror in our country, could see the ravages of crime as the cop on the beat must: innocent people cut, shot, beaten, raped, robbed and murdered. It would, I feel certain, give them a different perspective on crime and criminals, just as it has me.

For all the human misery and suffering which police officers must witness in their work, I found myself amazed at the incredible humanity and compassion which seems to characterize most of them. My own stereotypes of the brutal, sadistic cop were time and again shattered by the sight of humanitarian kindness on the part of the thin blue line. . . .

As a police officer, I found myself repeatedly surprised at the ability of my fellow patrolmen to withstand the often-enormous daily pressures of their work. Long hours, frustration, danger and anxiety—all seemed to be taken in stride as just part of the reality of being a cop. I went eventually through the humbling discovery that I, like the men in blue with whom I worked, was simply a human being with definite limits to the amount of stress I could endure in a given period of time.

I recall in particular one evening when this point was dramatized to me. It had been a long, hard shift—one which ended with a high-speed chase of a stolen car in which we narrowly escaped serious injury when another vehicle pulled in front of our patrol car.

As we checked off duty, I was vaguely aware of feeling tired and tense. My partner and I were headed for a restaurant and a bite of breakfast when we both heard the unmistakable sound of breaking glass coming from a church and spotted two long-haired teen-age boys running from the area. We confronted them, and I asked one for identification, displaying my own police identification. He sneered at me, cursed and turned to walk away.

The next thing I knew I had grabbed the youth by his shirt and spun him around, shouting, "I'm talking to you, punk!" I felt my partner's arm on my shoulder and heard his reassuring voice behind me, "Take it easy, Doc!" I released my grip on the adolescent and stood silently for several seconds, unable to accept the inescapable reality that I had "lost my cool."

My mind flashed back to a lecture during which I had told my students, "Any man who is not able to maintain absolute control of his emotions at all times has no business being a police officer." . . .

As a police officer myself, I found that society demands too much of its policemen: not only are they expected to enforce the law but to be curbside psychiatrists, marriage counselors, social workers and even ministers and doctors. . . .

I have often asked myself the questions: "Why does a man become a cop? What makes him stay with it?" . . . The only answer to this question I have been able to arrive at is one based on my own limited experience as a policeman. Night after night, I came home and took off the badge and blue uniform with a sense of satisfaction and contribution to society that I have never known in any other job. . . .

For too long now, we in America's colleges and universities have conveyed to young men and women the subtle message that there is somehow something wrong with "being a cop." It's time for that to stop.

## THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, a combination of expanding computer technology and the growing power of the Federal Government has posed a threat to one of the most basic liberties of a free people—the right of privacy.

An increasing involvement of the National Government in almost every aspect of an individual's life has led to an enormous collection of data gathered by a multiplicity of Federal agencies. It has been estimated that the U.S. Government has the capacity to secure about 20 pages of information on almost every man or woman in this country within 30 seconds by feeding a social security number into a data bank. In the hands of powerful bureaucrats, this information reported by a computer can be utilized in such a way as to invade the private lives of millions of Americans.

The effects of "Big Brother" government utilizing science and technology as a means of control have been portrayed in works like Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" and "Brave New World Revisited," and George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four." Orwell described a vast records department, a branch of the Government's Ministry of Truth, which contained "every conceivable kind of information, instruction, or entertainment, from a statue to a slogan, from a lyric poem to a biological treatise, and from a child's spelling book to a Newspeak dictionary." Many of the dangers to individual privacy contained in these fictional works appear to be reaching a reality in our own day.

Information fed into a data bank can reach enormous proportions when it is handled by the Federal Government. The Internal Revenue Service, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Social Security Administration are only a handful of Government agencies possessing extensive information on millions and millions of Americans. It is of great concern how rapidly this material can be disseminated throughout the Government to provide a complete profile on an individual.

Recently, this concern was expressed over the announced intention of the Department of Agriculture to look into the income tax returns of farmers as part of its statistic gathering operations. Fortunately, this permission was revoked by the President.

A prominent assistant professor in the field of urban studies at a leading midwestern university, critical of the accuracy of census data, proposed a system of permanent registration for everyone in the United States. This proposed permanent registration system would begin at birth and would include periodically cross-matching social security numbers with data obtained from birth and school records, the Internal Revenue Service, and other Federal and State statistical sources.

If adopted, this system would reduce

each person to a mere number or statistic with the Government maintaining an up-to-date file on everyone in the United States. The justification for this type of information system would be easier to imagine in a totalitarian society; it is difficult to justify for a nation based on the right of individual freedom and privacy. Our Nation would be establishing its own records department so aptly described in Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four."

If we are to maintain the rights of individuals in our society, we need to be especially cognizant of the right of privacy or the right to be left alone as an essential element in a free and democratic society. Realizing that everyday operations of government—local, State, and Federal—require the disclosure of some material facts, there must be a careful balance to preserve the individual's right to privacy by recognizing that he should be able to decide for himself when, how, and to what extent his attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and opinions should be disclosed to others. He should also have the right to exercise certain controls over the disclosure and nondisclosure of information to other people. It is unfortunate for freedom and dangerous to individual liberties that in the whole cycle of information collection and dissemination, the people most directly involved are excluded from the decision-making process. Justice Brandeis put it very effectively in *Olmstead* against United States:

They (the makers of our Constitution) sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized man.

It is encouraging that the President has established a Domestic Council Committee on Privacy, headed by the Vice President, which has as its task the examination of the whole range of data collection and to recommend actions which would provide each American a personal shield to protect his right to privacy. This concern for privacy has cut across party lines with the introduction of a great number of bills in the Congress to protect the various abuses of the right to privacy.

We should give priority consideration to legislation like H.R. 11276 which would prohibit the use of an individual's social security number or related record without his consent unless it is specifically required by law. This legislation would guarantee that an individual's social security number could only be used for matters directly related to the operation of old age, survivors, and disability insurance programs. Restrictions on the use of the social security number will prevent the individual from becoming a mere number or statistic in government records and prevent government from obtaining unnecessary information from private companies and other government agencies on an individual for a massive government file. This bill would be an important step in the direction of preserving individual privacy.

It is essential that we act to preserve the right of privacy by making ourselves

aware of the problem and adopting proper safeguards.

#### A CALL FOR PEACE WITH JUSTICE IN RHODESIA

HON. ANDREW YOUNG

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, Bishop Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa, president of the African National Council in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), delivered an address to that organization's Inaugural Congress. The speech, which I submit for the RECORD, proposes a peaceable, democratic, and just settlement of the conflict in that country.

Bishop Muzorewa's address should remind us that our country can have a role in a legitimate solution to the crisis in Rhodesia. For one thing, Congress should halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome until the Rhodesian regime agrees to the creation of a democratic government.

The address follows:

#### AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

(Presidential Address to Inaugural Congress)

Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Zimbabwe, this is an historic hour and a time of reckoning! While Zimbabwe is gathered here to take a thoughtful look at the continuing struggle for our freedom, we gather fully aware of the presence of Almighty God and with full blessing of those political martyrs and heroes in Zimbabwe's struggle for self-determination. The names of Drs. Samuel Parirenyatwa, Elisha Mutasa, Mr. L. Takawira and all those pioneer leaders of the struggle rotting in indefinite detention and restriction whose names cannot be mentioned by the dictators of the so-called laws of this country, are remembered by all of us with loving concern and inspiration.

I greet you with great admiration, gladness and gratitude. Your presence from the four corners of Rhodesia, from branches and the eight provinces representing the very grassroots of people of this country through the ANC, the organization of the masses, is a clear demonstration of your deepest desire to have Zimbabwe free. And, your presence is evidence of the unquestionable overwhelming majority which we have always claimed. Last but not least I welcome all the invited guests and observers present, and all those of goodwill among us today.

While I am still thinking of those to whom I am indebted, I trust you will agree with me that I should include those who have continually given us moral support and exerted their political pressure in our favour at home and abroad. The free African States cannot go unmentioned for their concern toward our need for liberation. For example, Zambia has gone out of its way, and sacrificed economically for our liberation. The same goes for other O.A.U. member states.

Now, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it should be my primary task to praise and thank you and all those who sent you here to this Congress, for despite the evil forces that laboured to divide us, you remained calm, determined and united. At a time when some of our brothers endured detention without trial, harassment and intimidation by the authorities and in the face of the murder of our innocent and unnamed brothers and sisters by the RF Government troops in the city of Umtali, Salis-

bury and Gwelo at the time of the Pearce Commission, you faced it all with an indomitable courage. And still you continued to carry out your duties with determination. Here I want us to stand up and pause and in a moment of silence remember those who died while exercising their democratic right by registering their "No" vote to the Pearce Commission. (Stand)

While talking about troops, I call for a joint ANC-Government Commission to go into the question of the relationship between security forces and civilians in the north-east border and alleged atrocities which have repeatedly come to our ears.

Furthermore, you have persevered in the face of the most discouraging and harsh circumstances. You amazed me for your insight and assessment of the political dynamics of our country. Your ability to distinguish genuine African leaders from the money seekers is praiseworthy.

Now as you are all aware the purpose of our organization and of this Congress is to seek for and try to achieve majority rule and end the RF totalitarianism and fascism which have haunted us for the last painful and wasted eleven years. This period has created miserable conditions for Africans, and since Pearce Commission left, more segregatory and repressive laws have been passed. In my opinion the most damaging, and inhuman one is the cruel collective punishment. Our people are being damaged mentally, physically and economically. The RF Government may never realize that by these deplorable actions, they are writing the blackest chapter in the history of this country. This black chapter will not only be printed as history but stamped indelibly in the hearts and minds of the African people of this and future generations. In short, let me emphasize that laws such as these engender feelings of hostility between races, the government and the Africans.

When we stop to think that there are people who are languishing in prisons, detention and restriction camps and of the innocent persons dying in the north-eastern border area, we are motivated incessantly to demanding our immediate emancipation. We often cry out "When Lord, will we be a free people? When? When Lord?" I wonder whether the blood of our innocent brothers and sisters will permit us to rest, to enjoy ourselves in our comfortable positions as African businessmen, teachers, lawyers, doctors, ministers of religion, Members of Parliament, nurses, policemen, students, even money mongers and Africans of all walks of life in Rhodesia while the country continues to be devoured by the oppressive laws which haunt us from the cradle to the grave!

To mention a few I repeat the most terrible so-called law of (1) collective punishment, (2) the Land Tenure Act (3) the Stupid Stupa Bill, (4) the practice of job reservation and now (5) the Settlers for '74 Campaign, to mention only a few. (6) Day-to-day humiliation and insults through racial discriminations.

Although the above oppressive measures are directed to persecuting the Africans, let me remind you that the black people are not the only ones who need to be freed. White people need freedom, too, now and especially in the future. But of course, the way they are treating Africans now will determine how free they will be in the future. For instance, the whites in the North-eastern Border Area know more and better than I do how much they desperately need freedom. They are fast becoming slaves of fear. As we read, they are a people who go to bed and hide behind a wall of sand bags; a people who are scared of their employees day and night; a people who hesitate to use the roads they helped to construct; a people who leave their comfortable beds and pets to suffer over-night and return home the next morning. Such a people cannot claim to be psychologically, socially and politically free.



When we presented our evidence to the Pearce Commission, the ANC had enough foresight and we duly warned the country of the violence and bloodshed that have now become the order of the day particularly in the North-Eastern border area, but it was received with scorn and shrinking resistance. For instance when I was in London in February, 1972, while I was speaking to the Members of British Parliament in the House of Commons, a woman MP reacted with emotion to my prediction.

She alleged that I was merely threatening the whites in Rhodesia. I told her that I was not praying for the coming of the dark days in Rhodesia, but I was only making a sincere analytic observation of a serious concern. One of her colleagues asked me when I thought that racial hatred and confrontation would deteriorate to the stage of bloodshed. I said then in five years time. But I was proved wrong—it came in a matter of months. It has continued intermittently and there is no sign of it ever stopping in spite of the dangerous wishful thinking that the security forces are "getting on top of the situation." At times I wonder what is getting on top of what. Can the white Rhodesians continue to ignore our call for a concerted effort to iron out our dispute and stalemate as a people in one country?

Now Mr. Chairman and Countrymen, as we try to solve our problems and pursue the cause of freedom and justice, we must be aware of the enemies of Zimbabwe's freedom. You will sadly remember that some of the enemies of our cause once succeeded in working out a split and put us in a political coma while setting back the clock of Zimbabwe's freedom 10 years. I am sure, as certain as the fact that we are here meeting in Stodart Hall, that we should have been a free nation by now if we had remained bound together in the name of unity. However, let us not cry over spilt milk. Let us beware of being nose-dragged into the same kind of pit we fell into before.

You know there are some people who have played to the devil for our split. Count how many times for example we have read and heard the words about the "ANC Split," in the white-owned and controlled news media. The reasons are clear. That this is something some of them would have printed in bold headlines if it had happened and the RBC would have put it in the loudest possible volume, and the RF would have danced on top of Milton Buildings if the split had taken place. These news media have also written a few times the word "ousted" in reference to your President. The ANC, like any other democratic organization, believe in changing its leaders whenever necessary. But it must be made clear that our enemies must not think that by repeating falsehoods about the change of leadership they can change it. Our enemies have failed in the past to detract the African people from their true leadership. They will fall now and will continue to do so in the future.

I want to stress that the forces that can cripple this organization for Zimbabwe's freedom are lively at work. Now, therefore, watch out for people who are intoxicated and obsessed with tribalism—people who see everything through tribal spectacles. Take note of the people who seem to think that chickens, pigs, and cows raised among their own tribe produce eggs, pork and milk which taste better and sweeter than those of other tribes. Watch out for people who have ill and cheap ambitions in so much that they backstab their colleagues, high lighting their faults without appreciating their strong points. There are the people who are mainly interested in enhancing their personal prestige at the expense of the freedom of the masses. Such people do not know what loyalty means except when they want others to be loyal to them. Watch for leaders who do not know how to follow other leaders. Don't forget to watch for those whose gods are

their stomachs—those who worship their bellies like the Biblical Judas Iscariot who would sell even persons to get money. Again, people like Esau of the Old Testament who sold his own precious birthright for a plate of porridge. These are materialistic people who are moved by the money-pulse. Watch out for people who tragically lack self-respect and suffer severely from that old disease of inferiority complex. Don't forget the cowardly who do nothing because they are afraid. Beware of the cheap informers. Watch out for people who are counting on what position they will hold personally, or their friends or their tribe in the event of majority rule—people who are more personality and party politically-centred than purpose-centred.

Countrymen, our only serious purpose should and must be the freedom of Zimbabwe! We must have the purpose clearly defined and in full focus. And we must accept the fact that if it should be a healthy struggle, it cannot be one man's struggle, it cannot be a struggle for an individual, organization or movement, or any party or group. It must be, and is, a struggle of all the people of Zimbabwe, by all the people of Zimbabwe, for all the people of Zimbabwe, to paraphrase Mr. Abraham Lincoln.

And yet Mr. Chairman and Countrymen, I, for one, am not in any doubt as to the precious loyalty to the struggle of you ANC members—true sons and daughters of this land which you have demonstrated beyond doubt over the last two years now.

We must not be like five brothers who went out hunting and when they saw a kudu almost pausing for them they started quarreling. One started demanding that he would have the chest, the other one said "the chest would be his" and so on until they started fighting. The kudu ran when it heard the noise of the fighting brothers. Now Countrymen, let me remind you again that this happened before without politics and it can happen many times over if we are not clever and wise enough to learn by our past mistakes. You know the English adage, "A wise man learns by the mistakes of others, but a fool will never learn."

Before I turn directly to speak on some points surrounding the Settlement issue I want to clear the air about a number of things. First, Mr. Smith said recently that some Africans who had been talking to him had said they were being intimidated not to settle by people from outside. I can assure you that this does not include the ANC. If the ANC were susceptible to intimidation by anybody we would have been intimidated into accepting the 1971 Settlement Proposals. Also, I have heard that there are people who dislike our idea of talking with other political bodies, including the Government, while our brothers are in detention. I have stated before, and I want to repeat it now, that whatever discussions we are having with the Rhodesian Front Government and other political bodies, we are aiming at the total emancipation of all our people. We are not indifferent to the continued detention of our brothers. My thinking and feeling is that those of us who are out of goal and detention should help bring about the majority rule, and have everybody free, i.e. Those who are in prisons and restriction and those who are refugees in other countries as well. Brothers and sisters, that is our goal—total liberation of Zimbabwe.

Consistent with our stand of not negotiating in public, I do not believe it is politically wise at this stage to go into details of what has transpired so far in the talks we have held with the RF and the RP. Suffice to say that we want to continue to talk until we reach a happy solution. All I can do at present is to assure you that we will press and strive for justice to be done. There will be no settlement which will be acceptable unless it is an honourable and just settlement.

There can never be a sellout! There can

never be a betrayal of the aspirations of the African people. Anyone suggesting that is engaging in cheap political propaganda.

Before I go any further, I want to say that all true members of ANC know this by now, that our organization is committed to achieving our goal of freedom by non-violent means. It means that we need to know what tools and non-violent weapons we should and must use to achieve our goal peacefully. It means we must talk, or negotiate on Constitutional problems that should be put right or the elimination or amendment of such documents. It means we must always be ready to exercise our voting rights whenever or wherever it is wise and beneficial to do so. It means we must give our service to ANC whenever the country's interest and necessity calls for it. It means we use our money where it is needed in the promotion of the cause of our freedom. It also means making a stand by speech, and writing where one's civil rights may be violated against. It means we have to be individuals endowed with psychological liberty, self-respect and dignity. You would be surprised by how fast we would gain our freedom if more people than we have now were aware of who they were and had pride in themselves.

Although it is the declared policy of the ANC to pursue the goal of freedom non-violently, yet a violent situation has already been created in our country. And we are, unfortunately, in a civil war now. We want to state that there is no country anywhere in the world which can survive and make progress through the tempest of a civil war.

Past and contemporary political history proves we are in the right by advocating non-violent action in solving our Constitutional difficulties. Citing a few examples around the world—the Israelis and the Arabs started by an exchange of fire across the Suez Canal, but they are now at a negotiating table—talking. Capitalist America and Communist Russia have regarded each other traditionally as ideological and economic enemies. They have actually fought a bitter war in Vietnam but they ended in France at a negotiating table. And now America and Red China have exchanged high level diplomats and official visits and yet in the past they were hostile to each other. You can multiply more such examples of the modern world where fighting ended by talking. Some people think it is weakness to talk to your enemy or someone you do not agree with.

This is why we think the present confrontation should come to a Conference table. Are we going to wait and inevitably come to the negotiating table in wheel chairs, with broken arms and spines, limping and struggling to talk about the atrocities which we could well avoid now before it is too late? I believe with good will, political integrity and statesmanship we can do it now.

While I am still on this issue of Civil War, I must dismiss as false the recurring sentiment that put the blame for the whole Civil War on external forces, which they call communism. I want to be brutally frank and say that these people are Rhodesians by birth and are motivated to fight the oppressive legislation and deprivation of their self-determination. And those who fight from inside are also Rhodesians. Where are the Communists then? It seems, therefore, that to remedy the situation we need to eradicate the internal, rather than the external, anomalies that have provoked the situation.

Mr. Chairman, we have so far been talking about every important issue which affect the achieving of our independence. I want to refer again to the Settlement issue. We cannot help starting by reminding ourselves of the fact, which is known universally, that we rejected the 1971 Settlement Proposals. We have reiterated for the last two years why we rejected the terms. Now we need not take time to repeat the reasons. Suffice it to summarize in one sentence that the proposals were unacceptable and from

an overall observation and analysis—a sell-out.

The time we rejected the proposals was, and is, similar to the time of preparation in the renovation of a house. A builder may tear down a building in order to rebuild. Hence in the same spirit we rejected the terms in order to build an acceptable deal. We, therefore, called for a Constitutional Conference, a period of negotiation, and dialogue of reflection and talks. We also made it clear that we would welcome talking to anybody, black or white, individual or group, that was interested in achieving a just and honourable settlement. We also maintained that we would not negotiate in public. In fact your President was and is very surprised when some people criticise him for not letting them know what has been going on in regard to the talks. How could this be done without negotiating in public? At any rate we don't rush to the public with little things. Time will be ripe when there are important things to share with everybody in public.

As I have already said there was a time to destroy in order to build during the test of acceptability, we were asked to say either "Yes" or "No" but now a time of talking is a time to sort out the good points and leave out the bad ones. Just like a builder does not throw away the steel windows and door frames with the debris—in like manner, we should look at any of the Constitutions, including the ANC Proposals, and choose the best points and leave the bad ones and build a Constitution acceptable to Rhodesians as a whole—one that can ensure democratic sharing of power and would inevitably effect majority rule.

But it must be stressed that the ANC does not believe in a Constitution that would deprive the white man of all political influence. The ANC does not aim at driving the white man out of the country or of confiscating his property. We believe in a Constitution that will safeguard the rights of all and will assure all races that they have a place here if they wish to stay.

But the white man must accept the fact that the ANC insists on a Common Roll. We believe in a franchise qualification that will give the vote to the majority of the people of Rhodesia as a whole. We will accept representation in parliament which is a satisfactory sharing of power. We believe that once representation and the franchise have been satisfactorily dealt with, the other matters which are normally part of a Constitution would be easy to deal with. I, therefore, repeat the ANC call to a Constitutional Conference, and have it immediately, as the only way we can achieve a permanent and healthy solution.

I would go further and suggest that Rhodesians must come together and talk. Only some form of Treaty can stop the current confrontation in this country. Treaties have been signed in Europe and have worked, so why not in Rhodesia?

In view of the fact that the issue of the detainees is a hyper-sensitive one, and that it has been too long since those people have been deprived of leading a normal life, we call the government in the name of humanitarianism and justice to review their cases with immediate effect.

Before I sit down, I want to call upon all the people of Rhodesia to work hard in their respective areas and capacities of work.

We call upon the African businessmen to support the organization of the people, their own organization, the ANC.

We call upon the African teachers, doctors, nurses, policemen, youths, students and the Africans from all walks of life, to support their organization very seriously, morally, intellectually, and financially. On a financial point I want to challenge the whole African population and other races of goodwill, to each give a special donation. Do you know that if every adult African would give at least 10 cents this month, ANC would

raise over \$20,000 in addition to the normal subscriptions! Now I call upon you to contribute to this special fund in cash or in postage stamps and send it to the Treasurer-General, ANC Headquarters, P.O. Highfield, in Salisbury.

We call upon our churchmen to do more than praying for the country. They should help make their people politically aware of themselves as persons in need of freedom. I wish to remind you that it was the Christian Church which remained the whole voice of justice during the days of Nazi Hitler. A similar situation is here in Rhodesia now.

I want to draw your attention to a matter of politics as an ethical concern. Countrymen, the struggle for freedom is a very serious business which demands characters of high morality with a high degree of self-control and personal integrity, dedication, and commitment to our cause. One of the practices that we must try to refrain from is excessive drinking.

We cannot afford to lose the brains we need to think clearly, and to perform intelligently the great task for leading people from their political bondage to their political promised land. Think of the thousands of dollars that the men and women of our land are wasting throughout the country by drinking. Think of the children and wives who are living like widows and orphans because their bread-winners have become slaves of liquor, and it seems as if they are dead. How can we succeed in our struggle if we are crippled in this way. We need to be our very best physically, intellectually and economically. Liquor does not help us.

I call upon each of you here and in the country as a whole to observe Sunday, March 10, 1974 as a day of mourning for all our country.

Finally, I want to summon all of us to march with perseverance, courage, endurance, determination and in unity as one people of Zimbabwe. And though thousands fall by arbitrary detention, restriction, imprisonment and wanton murder, though a thousand are scattered homeless in the Inyanga Mountain area and in refugee camps elsewhere in the world, though our membership cards and parties get banned, though our people are harassed from time to time, let not the struggle of the freedom of Zimbabwe be given up, but let the struggle be vigorously pursued until the freedom chimes ring from the tower of Zimbabwe. Free—Free—Free Zimbabwe shall be free!

#### OFFSHORE OIL

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House my comments on the Council on Environmental Quality's recently released preliminary impact statement on Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas development.

This critique is based entirely on the findings contained in the statement—findings which, in my opinion, indicate that further consideration is absolutely necessary before we embark on action with such potentially dangerous implications:

CRITIQUE OF THE COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY'S IMPACT STATEMENT ON OFFSHORE OIL

(By the Honorable MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON)

The Council on Environmental Quality is today making public the results of its year-

long study of the impacts of oil and gas production on the Atlantic Outer Continental Shelf and in the Gulf of Alaska. In its summary and conclusions, the CEQ maintains that development of the OCS should proceed at this time. Having studied the CEQ report in detail, I have reached a different conclusion.

The CEQ should be commended for the report which, in my opinion, is a well balanced and well documented study of a very complex problem. But, as most initial surveys do, the report raises more questions than it answers. I view the report as a useful first step in evaluating the off-shore oil issue, but only as a first step.

The report itself points out numerous areas that need further research, numerous public policy decisions which must be made, and numerous changes which must be made in our presently existing regulatory and administrative agencies before off shore oil development should be permitted to take place. In no way can today's report be considered the final, or definitive statement on the environmental and economic impacts of OCS development. Rather, the study should be seen as pointing the way toward further consideration and action on the issue.

All too often in the past, we have undertaken massive new enterprises without adequately thinking about their impact on the economy, on the environment, and on people's lifestyles. We have the opportunities, with regard to OCS, to carefully consider these impacts. We should not be forced to hastily gloss over the issues involved simply in order to meet the arbitrary time limit imposed for national energy self-sufficiency by Project Independence.

Specifically, I would like to discuss six issues raised in the report which I believe merit further attention. Each of these issues presents public policy challenges which must be resolved before OCS should be approved by the government.

#### I. THE UNITED STATES DIMINISHING SUPPLY OF OIL

One of the most illuminating, and potentially disturbing, aspects of the CEQ's report is its discussion of the nation's remaining petroleum reserves. According to the report, we simply do not have adequate information on the status of our oil supplies. This is especially true with regard to off-shore oil.

"Whether oil and gas are present in the Atlantic and Gulf of Alaska OCS areas is highly speculative. There may be large commercial reservoirs in these regions exploitable with today's technology or only small, noncommercial reservoirs or only trace amounts." (CEQ study, P. 2-1)

However, the CEQ goes on to discuss the best estimates of a variety of government and nongovernment sources with respect to our recoverable oil reserves.

Based on the National Petroleum Council's estimates (the official organ of the oil industry), the total U.S. recoverable oil reserves, both proven and undiscovered amounts to only 317 billion barrels. Other estimates are even lower (CEQ study, P. 2-8).

To put this figure in perspective, total daily demand for oil in the U.S. today is 17 million barrels, or 6.2 billion barrels a year. If then, we rely on our domestic supplies for oil, as Project Independence would have us do, and assume a zero demand growth for oil, then we have, at most, about a 50-year supply of oil left.

The estimates of total oil supply on the Outer Continental Shelf are also revealing. According to best estimates, the Atlantic OCS contains about 5-20 billion barrels of oil, enough to supply the U.S. anywhere from 10 months to 3 years (p. 2-13). In 1985, daily production from the New England off-shore oil fields is estimated at 500,000 barrels a day—about enough to supply one large modern refinery (p. 3-9).

While I support the concept of energy self-



sufficiency for the United States, a program which will make us completely self-sufficient in 1980 and leave our grandchildren, 50 years from now, completely dependent on foreign sources for oil because we have exhausted our domestic reserves, is short-sighted.

While coal can replace a segment of our oil supply—chiefly that going to generate electric power—it cannot replace oil in a large variety of uses. (It is questionable whether replacing residual oil with coal will lower the demand for petroleum, since oil production is largely geared to the demand for gasoline, not residual oil.) The one which comes most immediately to mind is transportation; we need petroleum to run our cars, buses and airplanes. But perhaps the most important use of petroleum is not as an energy fuel at all, but as a raw material or feedstock for over 80,000 petroleum-derived products. Chief among these products are medicines and drugs, plastics, and synthetic materials. While oil shale and synthetic oil may provide adequate oil in the future, they have not as yet been either economical or technically proven.

At the very least, the Federal Government should undertake a thorough audit of our energy resources, including exploratory drilling on the OCS in order to determine just how much oil we actually do have. Whether to proceed with the all-out development of our remaining oil reserves or whether to set aside some resources for the benefit of future generations and concentrate today on a massive energy conservation program is probably the most important public policy decision confronting the American people today.

This question should not be glossed over, influenced in part by an energy industry which is more interested in extracting profits today, than preserving supplies for the future.

## II. THE IMPACT OF INTENTIONAL POLLUTION

While most of the controversy surrounding the development of off-shore oil revolves around the possibility of a disastrous oil spill (the CEQ finds that oil cleanup technologies in rough waters are largely ineffective (p. 4-23, 8-20), the study indicates that most of the pollution created by off-shore oil development is intentionally created.

"The major source of pollution from tankers is intentional discharge—the pumping of oil ballast water and tank washings into the oceans. Over 70 percent of all oil released from tankers is due to routine operations. In addition to oil pollution, tankers and barges pollute with their sewage, untreated garbage, and human wastes. The typical tanker of 30,000 deadweight tons generates 1,000 gallons per day of sewage and domestic wastes. If they are not treated, they can significantly degrade water quality, particularly in harbors and bays." (p. 4-20)

Off-shore drilling operations also create daily pollution. "Daily operational discharges of oil, drilling muds, cuttings and other material may result in sublethal or long-term ecological damage to an area." (p. 6-46).

Pipelines contribute their part to the non-accident related pollution created by off-shore oil development: "Pipelining in wetlands can cause serious adverse physical and biological impacts. Disturbance of marshlands can change turbidity, salinity, acidity, hydrogen sulfide toxicity and biological oxygen demand." (p. 4-19)

The sum of all these regularly occurring discharges is significant. The study concludes that: "Scientists believe that over the life of a field, intentional releases may damage the environment as much as the large accidental oil spill." (p. 4-33)

These types of releases are, in my opinion, the kind that can be controlled by effective policing legislation. The question is whether to pass the legislation now, before drilling is permitted to start, or wait until the pollution becomes intolerable and then react to the crisis.

In a region which is as economically dependent on a clean environment as New England is, I believe the former approach makes far more sense.

## III. THE IMPACT OF OCS DEVELOPMENT ON FISHING

Coming from a District in which fishing is a major livelihood, I am particularly sensitive to the impact of OCS on this important industry. Three statements in the CEQ study stand out:

"How oil discharged into the marine environment affects it and life within it is particularly controversial. Although studies, reviews and conferences have addressed this general question, few consenses have been reached." (p. 6-27)

"Daily operational discharges of oil, drilling muds, cuttings and other material may result in sublethal or long-term ecological damage to an area. In several recent studies, significant concentrations of heavy metals were found near platforms. They enter the food chain and could pose problems for human health. Potential impacts on commercial fisheries should be assessed before development begins." (p. 6-46)

"New employment in primary industries may be offset by losses of jobs in the resort, tourism, and fishing businesses. Although total fishing catch may rise, average per capita income of fishermen may decrease, as has happened in Kenai, Alaska." (p. 7-13)

The oil industry has aired a number of commercials showing how the shrimp catch has improved around the Louisiana oil fields. I agree with the CEQ's staff that a more scientific analysis of OCS impact on fish, and the fishing industry, is in order before the leasing program gets underway.

## IV. THE IMPACT ON ONSHORE DEVELOPMENT

The major impacts of OCS development will not be offshore, but rather will be onshore. Off-shore oil fields will have to be augmented by tank farms, tanker berths, pipelines, refineries, and petrochemical plants. These facilities will have to be integrated into the already existing economic and environmental structures. The potential impact, both positive and negative is enormous.

"As the development of offshore oil and gas proceeds from the initial exploratory phase through drilling, production, and transportation, substantial onshore activity will be generated from which both positive and negative impacts can be expected. The degree to which on balance these effects are positive is related to the ability of public officials to plan for and direct the onshore development that is integral to OCS development and for that growth that onshore facilities generate throughout the region. OCS operations will result in massive development in areas where there is little or no experience in land use planning and regulatory activities. Unless this capability is quickly developed in such areas, the result could be permanent degradation of the environment and unnecessary disruption of traditional values and lifestyles for those living there now." (p. 7-1)

If the recent experience in Durham, New Hampshire, is any indication, the possibility exists that the people of the coastal zone do not want to change their present economic lifestyles for one based on heavy industry—even if the industrialization will produce economic benefits as they are commonly defined.

In any case, OCS development does not make sense in an area where the processing facilities are not available. Offshore and onshore development must be considered as an integral unit and the basic questions of onshore facility siting must be resolved before the massive investment in offshore development is begun.

## V. THE NEED FOR IMPROVED REGULATORY MECHANISMS

In large measure, the success or failure of OCS development will rest on the ability of

the coastal zone states to deal with the problems created by the development. This involves establishing a regulatory capability that can deal effectively with a large array of complex problems.

"The Council's Public hearings reflect a belief that, regardless of the adequacy of OCS oil and gas technology, the regulation of OCS development can only be as effective as the legal and institutional mechanisms for its implementation. An effective regime for regulating OCS activities should include at least the following elements:

A rational allocation of regulatory rights and responsibilities and an efficient means of coordination among entities sharing such authority;

A provision for ensuring that necessary information is obtained and analyzed prior to regulatory action and that the public has sufficient information to allow informed participation in the process;

An ongoing systematic evaluation of OCS technologies and practices and incorporation into OCS regulations specific requirements necessary for environmentally sound operations;

Enforcement of the requirements through effective inspections and sanctions for non-compliance; and

Means for compensation of injured parties when mishaps occur." (p. 9-11)

In my opinion, the New England states presently lack these needed capabilities, although a number of states, including Massachusetts, are working toward this end. The CEQ staff offers some advice on what steps the states should begin to take:

"In the Atlantic and New England states, and in Alaska, there has been little governmental experience with offshore oil and gas development. Affected states should strengthen their coastal zone management programs by developing special technical expertise in all phases of OCS development and its onshore and offshore impacts. Such augmented state coastal zone management agencies should attempt to insure that state interests and regulatory agencies are fully coordinated with Federal OCS technical and management activities. Federal agencies should make every effort to cooperate with state coastal zone management agencies on an ongoing basis, at all stages of the management process.

"Simply establishing technical expertise at the state level and calling on Federal agencies to cooperate will not, however, necessarily yield effective coordination. The decision making process itself must provide regularized mechanisms for effecting interaction." (p. 9-6)

The critical question is whether we should develop and then attempt to regulate, or whether we should first regulate, and then permit development according to the regulations.

## VI. OVERRELIANCE ON THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY FOR DATA

The federal government's reactions to the crisis created by the Arab oil boycott, and subsequent Congressional investigations of those reactions, underscores how dependent the U.S. government is on the major oil companies for basic data regarding our nation's most valuable commodity. It is no different with regard to OCS development.

"In practical effect, the industry has determined the information requirements of government for OCS leasing. Industry's incentives, however, are not always sufficient to generate all the data necessary for effective environmental regulation. Prior to a lease sale, industry understandably concentrates on obtaining and analyzing data that locate petroleum deposits. After the lease sale, there is little economic incentive for industry to acquire data solely for assessment of environmental risks.

"The present system in short, permits environmental risks which a prudent regula-

tory official might well choose to avoid if he considered all available information earlier in the process." (p. 9-15)

Even when the information is available, there is no guarantee that the government agencies involved will make the best use of it.

"The fact that the Interior Department treats industry data as proprietary severely restricts the effectiveness of the public review process, particularly in commenting on environmental impact statements. Although there may well be sound reasons for withholding some data in some circumstances, their competitive justification for a blanket prohibition of public disclosure is not clear." (p. 9-16)

However, the reason why Interior does keep the data secret was adequately analyzed in an earlier CEQ statement:

"In the absence of formal procedures for planning and coordination, the inevitable result has been that Federal officials have tended to promote their own particular programs and respond primarily to the interests and demands of their agency's clients." (p. 9-10)

There are alternatives to complete reliance on industry data. Since the Outer Continental Shelf is all public lands, the most obvious answer is to permit the federal government to develop at least part of the OCS for the exclusive benefit of the American people. The Federal Oil and Gas Corporation legislation now pending in House and Senate committees would permit public development of part of the OCS, and the data developed by the Corporation—as well as the oil—would be publicly available.

Unfortunately, the CEQ study did not devote attention to any nonprivate development of OCS resources.

In conclusion, I do not question that OCS development may be in the best economic interest of the United States; or that it can be developed without damaging the environment and disrupting the lifestyles of the people of the coastal zone.

However, based on my reading of the CEQ study, I am not convinced that those determinations have been made. The study raises many important questions which should be answered before, not after, we commit ourselves to a large, and possibly irreversible, program of offshore oil development.

The federal government should make as vigorous an effort in analyzing the wisdom of its potential policies as it does in protecting and defending those policies once they have been initiated.

Experience should have taught us by now that hasty reaction to a perceived crisis rarely produces wise policy in the long run. Before embarking on OCS development, we should have a far more accurate idea of where we are going than is provided in the CEQ study.

## ARKANSAS CAGER DEADLY FROM FREE-THROW LINE

**HON. BILL ALEXANDER**

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, Rickey Medlock, a native of Cave City, Ark., and a junior at the University of Arkansas, has recently been named college basketball's free throw shooting champion for the 1973-74 season by the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

The 6 foot-2 inch guard sank 87 of 95 attempts, for a .916 average, the fifth highest ever recorded by a major college player. Rickey follows an impressive array of Arkansas athletes into the record books.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

I urge my colleagues to join me in saluting this fine college basketball player. We from Arkansas applaud him and anxiously await another record smashing performance in his senior season as a Runnin' Razorback.

### ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION STAFF STUDY PROPOSES AGGRESSIVE SOLAR PROGRAM

**HON. CHARLES A. VANIK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in our efforts to devise a program for energy independence, we must pay special attention to the contributions of solar energy. Solar energy offers a limitless, nonpolluting energy source. Recently, the House considered and passed legislation to provide for a significant Federal involvement in the promotion of solar energy for the heating and cooling of buildings. In conjunction with its own studies of available energy technologies, the staff of Atomic Energy Commission has examined in depth the obstacles to commercial development of solar heating and cooling. This staff study recommends a 5-year, \$850 million program for the advancement of this technology to widespread application in residential and commercial buildings.

Because of this study's contribution to outlining the problems ahead in solar energy development, I am submitting a copy of this study to the RECORD:

#### PROGRAMS

##### A. Discussion

Three basic Federally supported programs (see Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6, pages 25, 26, 27, & 29) were developed reflecting differing levels of solar system production and deployment in Federal versus private buildings. The production rates assumed as of the end of the fifth year of program operation were one per cent, five per cent and twenty per cent of the estimated new construction starts of two million annually. Production rates assumed at the ends of the first, second, third, and fourth years for each of these percentage assumptions represent reasonable yearly increases in annual production leading to the fifth year's desired production rate. Unit costs for the solar systems which include collector and necessary support system purchase and installation were based on the number produced in prior and current years and the reduction in unit cost inherent in the build up to mass production levels.

For the purpose of pricing each program, a residential solar system for domestic hot water and space heating was assumed which includes collector square foot coverage of fifty per cent of the floor space of a typical residence (50% of 1500 ft<sup>2</sup>=750 ft<sup>2</sup>). The cost of the residential unit was then computed by multiplying the solar system cost per ft<sup>2</sup> by the 750 ft<sup>2</sup> of required collector area.

Because of the requirement for collector area at approximately fifty per cent of the floor area, it would be difficult to implement solar energy systems in high rise commercial buildings. Emphasis therefore should be given to residential units with attention given to commercial buildings in the appropriate mix to achieve early commercialization. In determining the solar system cost for commercial buildings, they were assumed to be 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> in floor area or approximately ten times the average sized residence.

In an effort to encourage the acceptance

of solar energy, all programs in this study propose that schools be used as an integral part of the demonstration program. School buildings, in general, are somewhat more amenable to solar heating than high density commercial buildings. They are frequently single story and often of a design which offers some unobstructed southern exposure which is highly desirable for solar systems. They are generally centrally located in neighborhoods (particularly elementary schools), familiar to many young families of a house-building age, and thus have the very high visibility desired in solar energy demonstrations. The program should offer Federal funding and technical assistance to local school boards nationwide for solar energy heating, both for buildings under construction and for solar energy retrofits. For the purposes of this study, the average school was assumed to be 30,000 ft<sup>2</sup> in floor area or approximately twenty times the average sized residence.

Present local building codes and design standards do not provide for solar systems; therefore, the first units to be so equipped would be in the Federal sector which is not subject to these codes and standards. Subsequent to the installation in Federal buildings and the increased experience and knowledge in solar system design and construction, units should be made available to schools and to the private sector. The mechanics of this subsidy by the Federal Government, whether by aid in financing, tax incentives or other methods, is not known at present, and for the purpose of this study, all costs associated with the integration of the solar units in schools and in the private sector are assumed to be Federal costs. Subsequent to the determination as to how the Federal support will be accomplished, any reduction in the Federal subsidy below full cost can be expected to reduce total Federal expenditures. The program thus emerges initially using only Federal buildings in order to get demonstrations fielded. Two of the three programs presented are phased toward the end of the five year period to an almost total private program. A guiding principle in organizing the proposed program has been initially to maximize the role of the Federal Government.

The installation of solar systems on new Federal construction would be easier to perform than the retrofitting of existing Federal buildings. The buildings could be designed to optimize the cost-effectiveness of the solar systems, and could incorporate the solar collectors into a pleasing architectural design. The operation of these systems could provide data on system performance in a variety of conditions. The new Federal construction is so small in comparison to the private sector (0.04 billion ft<sup>2</sup> Federal vs 3 billion ft<sup>2</sup> private annual construction) that this program would not create an industry large enough to have significant impact in the private sector. Solar installation in new Federal construction alone would not lead to the immediate widespread use of solar energy. To assure this result it is necessary to include a program of retrofitting Federal buildings. The Federal Government will take the risks involved in installing innovative heating and cooling systems and will pay the development costs. In the programs outlined in this study, whenever possible in Federal buildings, fifty per cent of the available units have been assigned to new construction and the other fifty per cent to retrofitting existing structures. In contrast, no breakdown is shown for new versus retrofit in the private sector. This distinction is purely academic as far as total program costs are concerned since new and retrofitted installation and other associated costs have been estimated at the same cost.

There are a number of activities common to all programs. The first of these activities estimated at the same total cost in all pro-



grams is a survey of existing technology in solar energy systems for buildings. After this data has been evaluated, general design and performance criteria will be developed for adapting solar systems to buildings for domestic hot water and space heating.

Work to be undertaken after this establishment of system design criteria includes a study to determine the appropriate geographical areas where solar units should be installed. Such a study would result in area selections representing the varying climatic conditions with the heavier concentration of units in those areas most receptive to solar systems including major population centers. Subsequently, a survey will be made of existing Federal and private buildings to identify those which would receive solar units.

The cost of architectural engineering services to incorporate the solar heating system in the designs of new Federal and private buildings as well as the retrofitting of existing buildings has been included at fifteen per cent of the solar systems cost.

A program should be established after design criteria have been developed for the education of architects and engineers in the design of solar systems, for the training of technicians in the installation and maintenance of the systems and to encourage additional industry participation in the manufacture and fabrication of these systems. This educational and training program should eventually lead to the production of off-the-shelf systems such that installation and maintenance is within the capability of normal construction craftsmen. Funds are also provided for a continuing program evaluation in order to determine the need for adjusting the number of solar units in the

proposed program as a result of production or application experience. A thorough evaluation is considered advisable prior to the inclusion of solar systems in schools and in the private sector in order to evaluate previous progress and solar system economies. The Federal investment at this point in time would have been wholly in Federal buildings and if the program were to be terminated, this investment would have a continuing pay-off in the operations of these buildings.

Solar cooling technology should be subjected to continued development throughout the five year period. After a year or two of additional development (varies with different programs), initial deployment of cooling systems should be implemented. For the purpose of costing these programs, the cost per unit of adding a cooling system to an existing heating system, including design and necessary retrofitting, has been estimated at fifty per cent of the solar heating system cost.

#### B. Medium program—Table 3

This program, totaling approximately \$850 million over the five year period, is based on attaining a solar system production capability at the end of the five year period for producing solar units for five per cent of the estimated new construction starts of two million units annually or 100,000 units.

During the first year, only Federal residences would receive solar heating units with Federal commercial size units receiving solar systems during the second year. During the third year, schools and private residential would be added and the first cooling units would be installed. Private commercial buildings would receive units in the fourth year and fifth year. The majority of units in-

stalled in the fourth and fifth year would be in the private sector.

#### C. Maximum program—Table 4

This program, totaling approximately \$2600 million over the five year period, is based on attaining a solar system production capability at the end of the five years for producing solar units for twenty per cent of the estimated new construction starts of two million units annually or 400,000 units.

During the first year units would be installed in Federal buildings, both commercial as well as residential. Private commercial and schools should start receiving units in the second year and the first cooling units would be installed. Private residential installations are added to the list starting in the third year.

#### D. Minimum program—Table 5

This program, totaling approximately \$275 million over the five year period, is based on attaining a solar system production capability at the end of the five years for producing solar units for one per cent of the estimated new construction starts of two million units annually or 20,000 units.

This program is based on the installation of all units for the entire five years in Federal buildings. As previously stated, an all-Federal program does avoid a lot of problems arising out of conflicts of solar systems with existing building codes and standards as well as the mechanics involved in establishing the procedures and dollar limits of Federal support for these solar units in the private sector. By not resolving these problems, this program will delay the transition from Federal to private sector involvement.

As in the medium program, initial installation of cooling units begins during the third year.

TABLE 3.—MEDIUM PROGRAM

[Based on attaining production capability of 5 percent of estimated new construction starts]

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Solar system cost (per square foot) <sup>1</sup>	\$20	\$15	\$10	\$7	\$5	
Cost residential unit <sup>2</sup>	\$15,000	\$11,250	\$7,500	\$5,250	\$3,750	
Total units residential <sup>3</sup>	50	1,000	10,000	40,000	100,000	
Total buildings	50	910	8,150	32,600	81,500	
Federal residential:						
New	25	600	3,000	5,000	5,000	
Retrofit	25	300	3,000	5,000	5,000	
Federal commercial: <sup>4</sup>						
New		5	50	100	250	
Retrofit		5	50	100	250	
Schools: <sup>4</sup>						
New			25	100	100	
Retrofit			25	100	400	
Private residential <sup>5</sup>			2,000	22,000	70,000	
Private commercial <sup>6</sup>				200	500	

  

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Subtotal units (cost M\$)	0.75	11.25	75	210.0	375.0	672.0
Technical survey and design criteria (M\$)	1.0	.5				
Site location study (M\$)	.5	.5				
Building survey (M\$)	5.0	3.0	2.0	1.0		
AE—Design (M\$) <sup>7</sup>	.1	1.6	11.3	36.0	56.3	
Training (M\$)	1.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	
Program evaluation (M\$)	.1	.5	.5	.3	.2	
Cooling development (M\$)	2.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	2.0	
Cooling implementation (M\$) <sup>8</sup>			1.4	3.0	18.8	
Subtotal	9.7	14.1	26.2	47.3	79.3	176.6
Total	10.45	25.35	101.2	257.3	454.3	848.6

<sup>1</sup> System cost per ft<sup>2</sup> of collector.

<sup>2</sup> Residential unit cost based on collector area equal to 50 percent of typical residence floor area (1,500 ft<sup>2</sup>), i.e., 50 percent (1,500 ft<sup>2</sup>) equals 750 ft<sup>2</sup> of collectors times system cost per ft<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Commercial unit based on 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> of floor space (2 floors) therefore using 15,000 (50 percent) equals 7,500 ft<sup>2</sup> collector ft<sup>2</sup> or 10 equivalent residential units.

<sup>4</sup> School unit based on 30,000 ft<sup>2</sup> of floor space (2 floors) therefore using 30,000 (50 percent) equals 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> collector ft<sup>2</sup> or 20 equivalent residential units.

<sup>5</sup> Based on typical residential ft<sup>2</sup> of 1,500 ft<sup>2</sup> (floor space) see note No. 2. If mobile home units

are to be separately identified, assume mobile home of 750 ft<sup>2</sup> floor space with collector ft<sup>2</sup> requirement of 50 percent 750 equals 375 ft<sup>2</sup> or 1/4 equivalent residential unit.

<sup>6</sup> Architect-Engineer (AE) cost at 15 percent of total units cost.

<sup>7</sup> Capital cost of installing cooling equipment estimated at 50 percent of heating system cost including necessary design services.

<sup>8</sup> 100 units.  
<sup>9</sup> 1,000 units.  
<sup>10</sup> 10,000 units.

TABLE 4.—MAXIMUM ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM

[Based on attaining production capability of 20 percent of estimated new construction starts]

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Solar system cost (per square foot) <sup>1</sup>	\$20	\$15	\$8	\$5	\$4	
Cost residential unit <sup>2</sup>	\$15,000	\$11,250	\$6,000	\$3,750	\$3,000	
Total units residential <sup>3</sup>	200	4,000	40,000	160,000	400,000	
Total buildings	182	3,564	32,600	130,400	348,800	
Federal residential:						
New	90	1,760	5,000	5,000	5,000	
Retrofit	90	1,760	5,000	15,000	15,000	
Federal commercial: <sup>4</sup>						
New	1	10	100	400	500	
Retrofit	1	10	100	400	500	
Private residential <sup>5</sup>						
New			22,000	108,000	324,000	
Retrofit			200	800	3,000	
Private commercial <sup>6</sup>						
Subtotal units (cost M\$)	3.0	45.0	240.0	600.0	1,200.0	2,088.0
Technical survey and design criteria (M\$)	1.0	.5				
Site location study (M\$)	1.0	1.0				
Building survey (M\$)	10.0	6.0	4.0	2.0		

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
AE—Design (M\$) <sup>a</sup>	0.5	6.8	36.0	90.0	180.0	
Training (M\$)	2.0	6.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	
Program evaluation (M\$)	.2	1.0	1.0	.5	.5	
Cooling development (M\$)	2.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	2.0	

  

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Cooling implementation (M\$)		*0.6	*3.0	**18.8	**60.0	
Subtotal	16.7	26.9	58.0	120.3	246.5	468.4
Total	19.7	71.9	298.0	720.3	1,446.5	2,556.4

<sup>1</sup> System cost per ft<sup>2</sup> of collector.  
<sup>2</sup> Residential unit cost based on collector area equal to 50 percent of typical residence floor area (1,500 ft<sup>2</sup>), i.e., 50 percent (1,500) equals 750 ft<sup>2</sup> of collectors times system cost per ft<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>3</sup> Commercial unit based on 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> of floor space (2 floors) therefore using 15,000 (50 percent) equals 7,500 ft<sup>2</sup> collector ft<sup>2</sup> or 10 equivalent residential units.  
<sup>4</sup> School unit based on 30,000 ft<sup>2</sup> of floor space (2 floors) therefore using 30,000 (50 percent) equals 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> collector ft<sup>2</sup> or 20 equivalent residential units.  
<sup>5</sup> Based on typical residential ft<sup>2</sup> of 1,500 ft<sup>2</sup> (floor space) see note No. 2. If mobile home units

are to be separately identified, assume mobile home of 750 ft<sup>2</sup> floor space with collector ft<sup>2</sup> requirement of 50 percent 750 equals 375 ft<sup>2</sup> or 1/2 equivalent residential unit.  
<sup>a</sup> Architect-Engineer (AE) cost at 15 percent of total units cost.  
<sup>b</sup> Capital cost of installing cooling equipment estimated at 50 percent of heating system cost including necessary design services.  
<sup>c</sup> 10 units.  
<sup>d</sup> 100 units.  
<sup>e</sup> 1,000 units.

TABLE 5.—MINIMUM ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM

(Based on attaining production capability of 1 percent of estimated new construction starts)

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Solar system cost (per square foot) <sup>1</sup>	\$20	\$15	\$12	\$10	\$8	
Cost residential unit <sup>2</sup>	\$15,000	\$11,250	\$9,000	\$7,500	\$6,000	
Total units residential	10	200	2,000	8,000	20,000	
Total buildings	10	182	1,630	6,520	16,300	

  

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Federal residential:						
New	5	90	800	3,200	5,000	
Retrofit	5	90	800	3,200	11,000	
Federal commercial:						
New		1	10	40	100	
Retrofit		1	10	40	100	
Schools:						
New			5	20	50	
Retrofit			5	20	50	
Private residential:						
New						
Retrofit						
Private commercial:						

  

	Years					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Subtotal units (cost M\$)	0.15	2.25	18.0	60.0	120.0	200.40
Technical survey and design criteria (M\$)	1.0	.5				
Site location study (M\$)	.3	.3				
Building survey (M\$)	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0		
AE—Design (M\$) <sup>a</sup>	.1	.3	2.7	9.0	18.0	
Training (M\$)	.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	
Program evaluation (M\$)	.1	.2	.3	.2	.1	
Cooling development (M\$)	2.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	2.0	
Cooling implementation (M\$) <sup>b</sup>			*.1	*.8	*3.0	
Subtotal	7.0	9.3	16.1	17.0	24.1	73.5
Total	7.15	11.55	34.1	77.0	144.1	173.90

<sup>1</sup> System cost per ft<sup>2</sup> of collector.  
<sup>2</sup> Residential unit cost based on collector area equal to 50 percent of typical residence floor area (1,500 ft<sup>2</sup>), i.e., 50 percent (1,500) equals 750 ft<sup>2</sup> of collectors times system cost per ft<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>3</sup> Commercial unit based on 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> of floor space (2 floors) therefore using 15,000 (50 percent) equals 7,500 ft<sup>2</sup> collector ft<sup>2</sup> or 10 equivalent residential units.  
<sup>4</sup> School unit based on 30,000 ft<sup>2</sup> of floor space (2 floors) therefore using 30,000 (50 percent) equals 15,000 ft<sup>2</sup> collector ft<sup>2</sup> or 20 equivalent residential units.  
<sup>5</sup> Based on typical residential ft<sup>2</sup> of 1,500 ft<sup>2</sup> (floor space) see note No. 2. If mobile home units

are to be separately identified, assume mobile home of 750 ft<sup>2</sup> floor space with collector ft<sup>2</sup> requirement of 50 percent 750 equals 375 ft<sup>2</sup> or 1/2 equivalent residential unit.  
<sup>a</sup> Architect-Engineer (AE) cost at 15 percent of total units cost.  
<sup>b</sup> Capital cost of installing cooling equipment estimated at 50 percent of heating system cost including necessary design services.  
<sup>c</sup> 100 units.  
<sup>d</sup> 1,000 units.  
<sup>e</sup> 10,000 units.  
<sup>f</sup> 40,000 units.

TABLE 6.—PROGRAM IMPACT

Program 5th year	Total Federal expenditures (in millions of dollars)	Total residential unit equivalents	Annual energy saved starting 5th year (in millions barrels of oil)
Medium:			
Heating	800	151,050	2.4
Air-conditioning	50	11,100	.2
Total	850		
Maximum:			
Heating	2,490	604,200	10.3
Air-conditioning	110	51,100	1.3
Total	2,600		
Minimum:			
Heating	245	30,210	.5
Air-conditioning	30	1,110	.02
Total	275		

## CONCLUSIONS

1. The medium program will accomplish the stated objective of achieving commercial production of solar heating systems on a national scale within five years.  
 2. The program that penetrates one percent of the new housing market will permit it to be carried forward without Federal subsidies to the private sector. However, the time required for the program to have significant impact on the current energy requirement will be extended beyond the other two programs.  
 3. The program that penetrates twenty percent of the new housing market within five

years, is a very aggressive option that will achieve the stated objectives. The cost of these additional Federal subsidies may be desirable to accelerate penetration of the new housing market.

4. Establishing the program first in the Federal domain and then phasing it into the private sector provides additional time to resolve difficult institutional problems.

5. After completion of the recommended program, solar systems should be in mass production and cost competitive with other heating and cooling systems. Therefore, the appropriate stimulus would be available for industry to continue the program at an increasing rate without Government support.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend the program that will achieve solar heating systems in five per cent of the estimated annual new construction starts in the fifth year. We feel that, based on the time and information available, this program will demonstrate solar heating of buildings and create the capacity to produce a sufficient number of units at the end of the program to have an impact on our national energy requirements.

2. We recommend that in an effort to expedite the program, first units should be built in the Federal sector with a phasing of the building program into the private sector. It is imperative that the transition be made between the Federal and private sector in order to achieve the stated objective. It appears advantageous to begin the early experimental units in the Federal sector immediately and thus provide additional time to solve a number of difficult problems that need to be addressed in the private sector.

## PERSONAL STATEMENT

## HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, this first legislative business day after April 15—a blue Monday if there ever was one—seems an appropriate time to publish my income and taxes for 1973.

My personal income tax return, filed jointly with my husband Jim, declares my congressional salary of \$38,722—eleven-twelfths of \$42,500, because I was not in office in 1972—plus interest income of \$774 and dividend income of \$510. In addition we reported income from Jim's law practice, my income from speaking honoraria, and net rental income from our home in Denver, all totaling \$6,620. Taking offsets and adjustments to income—investment losses, moving expenses, et cetera—our adjusted gross income—form 1040, line 15—was \$38,895. After exemptions of \$750 each for the four of us in our family and itemized deductions—taxes, interest, business expenses, et cetera—our taxable income—form 1040, line 48—was \$21,962. On this was paid a total of \$6,577 in taxes—30 percent: Federal income tax \$5,008; social security self-employment



tax \$503; and Colorado and Virginia State income taxes \$1,066.

Under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 all receipts and expenditures of campaign funds are made by the Schroeder for Congress Committee, Richard Freese, Jr., treasurer, 1200 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colo. That committee filed its own income tax returns for 1972 and 1973, and showed no taxable income and, therefore, no income tax due.

**REPRESENTATIVE JACK KEMP INTRODUCES LEGISLATION TO TIGHTEN POLICY FOR BACKED CREDITS TO OUR ADVERSARIES**

**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, despite its denial of even the most basic of human rights to its citizens—including the right to emigrate, despite its continuing and expanding program of developing even more massive and sophisticated offensive weapon systems, despite its blatant arming of the Arab powers prior to and during the recent Yom Kippur war in the Middle East, despite its support of the Arab oil embargo following that war, and despite its never-renounced policies of achieving a world dominated by it, the Soviet Union is still continuing to receive credits, backed by the United States and its taxpaying citizens, through the Export-Import Bank.

Today, I have introduced legislation which would put the brakes on the highly questionable policies of this Administration in this regard. Specifically, I have introduced a bill to amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 to tighten up the procedures under which such loans and credits could be made—to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, or to those nations engaged in armed conflict with the United States, or to those nations which deny to their citizens the right to emigrate.

**ADMINISTRATION POLICY IS MISDIRECTED**

It is particularly distressing to me that the administration is circumventing the clear intent of the Congress, as well as a recent ruling by the Comptroller General of the United States, in continuing to make these credit extensions.

The Comptroller General, recently ruled that the President of the United States should have to make a finding, with respect to each potential credit transaction, that the extension of credit to a Communist country was "in the national interest" of the United States. I repeat—"the national interest" of the United States—not that of the Soviet Union.

The Comptroller General's ruling was made public by the senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. SCHWEIKER, and Representative BLACKBURN from Georgia, who, together with many Members of the Senate and House, myself included, have opposed the extension of credits to the Soviet Union, unless such credits were predicated upon an actual showing by

the Soviet Union that it was relaxing significantly its internal restraints on political freedom. Such demonstrations have not, of course, been shown.

In the face of nearly three-fourths of the Senators supporting the holding back of credit extensions until reforms are instituted in the Soviet Union, in face of the House-passed version of the proposed Trade Reform Act containing such a holdback requirement, and in face of the specific ruling of the Comptroller General, the administration, through the Attorney General, has proceeded to OK massive credits to the Soviet Union.

On Friday, March 22, the administration resumed credits, announcing a \$44.4 million loan package with the Soviet Union. The administration announced, at that time, that it was also going ahead with such trade packages for three other Communist nations. The total approved that day—for the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia—totaled \$74.9 million. These credits are underwritten by the credit of the United States, through the Export-Import Bank, and to the degree that those credit arrangements are at an interest less than that borrowed by the Government of the United States to stand behind them, they actually constitute a subsidy to those Communist nations.

These matters cannot be allowed to go either unnoticed or without restriction.

On March 26, I introduced a bill, H.R. 13730, the proposed Soviet Energy Investment Prohibition Act, to prohibit the extensions of Export-Import Bank credits to aid the Soviet Union in the development of a vast energy program. I think we ought to use American tax dollars to build up our own energy reserves, not those of the Soviet Union, which—all the talk of détente notwithstanding—remains our principal potential adversary. H.R. 13730 is the House companion version of the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator SCHWEIKER, S. 3229.

**CONGRESS SHOULD EXERT ITS CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS**

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States specifically grants to the Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations." That constitutional grant of power should be exercised. The new bill, which I introduced today, is designed to achieve, in great measure, such an objective.

That bill would amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 to prohibit that Bank from guaranteeing, insuring, or extending credit, or participating in any extension of credit, to:

A Communist country, unless the Congress determines each such transaction would be in the national interest through the adoption of a concurrent resolution;

Any nation which is engaged in armed conflict with the Armed Forces of the United States, unless Congress makes such a similar determination; and

Any nonmarket economy country which denies to its citizens the right to emigrate.

The bill would also amend the act by repealing that section which permits the extension of credits to those nations in default of payments of debts owed to the Government of the United States.

Let me explain these proposed amendments in more detail.

**CREDIT EXTENDED TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: TIGHTEN**

As I have indicated, a controversy has recently arisen over the fact that the Export-Import Bank has been extending credits to the Soviet Union without the President making a determination that each individual transaction was in the national interest and then reporting this finding to the Congress, as the law now requires.

It is the administration's, and the Bank's, position that on October 18, 1972, President Nixon determined it to be in the national interest for Eximbank to extend credits to the Soviet Union, and a separate determination of national interest for each individual transaction is not required.

Senator SCHWEIKER requested a ruling from the General Accounting Office, and in response, Comptroller General Staats stated in a March 8 letter to the Senator:

Thus the language of section 2(b)(2) of the present act, together with its legislative history, clearly requires a separate determination for each transaction.

Because of this ruling, on March 11 Eximbank suspended consideration of credits to the Soviet Union and three other Communist countries pending clarification of this point. Yet Attorney General Saxbe upheld the legality of the Bank's actions determining that the law does not require a separate Presidential determination and report to Congress for each transaction. The Bank then celebrated by approving a package of loans to the Soviet Union that same day to finance the construction of the trade center, as well as the shipment and installation of machinery for a motor factory, a canal, and a valvemaking plant.

The provisions of my new bill would remove any doubt that a determination is required for each individual transaction, and would provide that Congress, not the President, make this determination through the adoption of a concurrent resolution.

I believe Congress has delegated away too many of its constitutional responsibilities to the executive branch, and this amendment would give us the opportunity to grasp control of a most important constitutional prerogative.

**CREDITS EXTENDED TO BELLIGERENTS: TIGHTEN**

My bill would also amend section 2(b)(3) of the act to prohibit the Bank from guaranteeing, insuring, or extending credit, or participating in the extension of credit to any nation which is engaged in armed conflict with the Armed Forces of the United States unless Congress determines each such transaction to be in the national interest through the approval of a concurrent resolution.

I think the need for a change on the law in this regard is self obvious.

**THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE IS AMONG THE MOST BASIC OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

The right to emigrate—the right to leave and return to one's own country without fear of reprisal or without being denied that right altogether—is among the most basic of all human rights and liberties. This is a right which has been continually denied in the Soviet Union and most other Communist countries.

My bill would amend section 2(b) of

the act to prohibit the Bank from guaranteeing, insuring, or extending credit, or participating in the extension of credit with respect to any nonmarket economy country which denies its citizens the right of emigration.

This amendment would incorporate the language of the Mills-Vanik amendment as it applies to the operations of the Export-Import Bank. By a recorded vote of 319 to 80, the House adopted a floor amendment offered by Congressman VANIK to the Trade Reform Act, H.R. 10710, which would deny loans, credits, and guarantees to any nonmarket economy country which does not recognize the right of its citizens to emigrate.

My amendment to the act would be consistent with the strong position taken by the House when it overwhelmingly approved the Vanik amendment to the trade bill.

#### DEBTS IN DEFAULT TO BECOME A PROHIBITION AGAINST CREDIT EXTENSIONS

This section allows private participation in the operations of Eximbank in spite of the provisions in the Johnson Debt Default Act, 18 U.S.C. 955. The Johnson Debt Default Act prohibits private parties from making loans to a foreign government which is in default in the payment of its obligations to the United States—with the exception of foreign governments which are members of both the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The U.S.S.R. is clearly in default of its payments on debts owed to the United States. More than \$11 billion was made available to the U.S.S.R. for defense-related items in the years 1941-46. Under the terms of the October 18, 1972, Lend Lease Settlement, the U.S.S.R. will only repay \$722 million of this \$11 billion. To date only \$36 million has been paid, and the next payment of \$12 million is not scheduled to be made until July 1, 1975. The U.S.S.R. is attempting to blackmail the United States into extending most-favored-nation status by requiring MFN treatment as a condition before payments on the remaining \$674 million will be scheduled.

This is an intolerable situation, and one which Congress must take a position on, to demonstrate to the Soviet Government that we will not be coerced into submission.

#### CALL FOR HEARINGS

Mr. Speaker, I call upon the distinguished leadership of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which has jurisdiction over the Export-Import Bank Act, to hold public hearings on this measure at the earliest possible date. This legislation is needed, and it is needed now.

#### THE SINGING ANGELS

##### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 5, 1974, the famous Singing Angels

will present their 10th Annual Spring Benefit Concert at Cleveland Music Hall. It will be an exciting anniversary. Since they were founded by Bill Boehm in 1964, the Angels have quickly gained national recognition as the most representative youth chorus in the country. Two hundred and fifty Singing Angels represent every neighborhood, race, creed, and ethnic group in Cleveland, and Cleveland is America in miniature. The slogan of the Singing Angels is "Democracy in Action Through Music." I am particularly proud that my daughter, Shelley, was at one time a member of the troupe.

The 250 Angels, who range in age from 6 to 18, number 150 performing members, with an additional 100 reserve "rookie" members. They give about 50 shows throughout Greater Cleveland every year. Among their now traditional activities is the Caroling Crusade they conduct for 80 nursing homes and hospitals during the 12 days of Christmas. Their annual "Songs of Christmas" special won an Emmy Award in 1970 as the best entertainment program on Cleveland television.

The fame of the Singing Angels has not been restricted to northern Ohio. They have performed for nationwide audiences at half-time at the Browns-Colts 1971 championship playoff on NBC. They have performed on NBC's Kraft Music Hall. They gave a command performance at the White House in 1969, and in 1973 they led the Inaugural Parade on the theme float "Spirit of '76," representing American youth.

This coming summer, for the first time, the Singing Angels will take their talents on a good-will tour abroad. They have scheduled nine concerts in Romania, and will, in fact, be the youngest entertainers ever to appear in concert in a Soviet bloc country. I think it is fair to predict that these musical ambassadors before long will be representing the youth of the United States in all the major capitals of the world.

In view of their achievements and their exciting promise for the future, I wish to take this opportunity to say: Singing Angels, I salute you. You are the pride of Cleveland and you will be the pride of America.

#### THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

##### HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, April 19 marked the 31st anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. It was on that tragic day that the Nazi armies under Hitler's orders chose to make Warsaw the symbol of the Nazi plan to exterminate the entire Jewish race.

That episode in our history, along with countless others during those tragic years when Hitler sought to murder innocent men, women, and children, should not be forgotten. It did not occur in the Dark Ages—it was part of modern times, when men were allegedly enlightened and civilized.

The uprising in the Warsaw ghetto

demonstrated the courage and determination of a people who have been oppressed for centuries and who have faced persecution, slavery and even death, because of their faith in God.

It is not a mere accident that this event occurred on Passover eve—the holiday commemorating the liberation of the Jews in biblical times from the bond of slavery. For the Warsaw uprising also stood for Jewish determination to rise above the shackles of persecution and to fight for freedom.

I, therefore, would like to take this opportunity to pay homage to those who died in the Warsaw ghetto on that fateful day, and to urge all of us in Congress to pause for a moment, not only to reflect on that event, but to recommit ourselves to the achievement of freedom for all citizens of the world, whatever their religion, race, or creed. Unless we actively seek to insure the freedom of all men, we will always stand in the shadow of those heartbreaking events in Warsaw.

#### ARIZONA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TO VISIT WASHINGTON

##### HON. JOHN B. CONLAN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. CONLAN. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the visit of 51 outstanding Arizona high school students to Washington as part of my second annual congressional scholars program. These are top-ranking high school juniors, selected by their principals and a district-wide selection committee of educators and citizens, representing almost every private and public high school in my 36,000-square-mile congressional district.

I am particularly proud of this program. These are exceptionally high quality students, selected for scholarships because their contributions to good citizenship are prized in their own communities. And rather than being just a sightseeing trip to the Nation's Capital, this program provides a deep exposure to the values of constitutional government and our free enterprise system.

Its success was perhaps best encapsulated last year by David Arenson, a student at Globe High School, who wrote me following his return to Arizona:

In one week, 46 young people had come to a fuller realization of just what our country is about. There were tears in many eyes—not just because we were leaving, but also because we felt a deep love and respect for this large and varied land—America.

This past weekend, following their arrival from Phoenix, my 1974 congressional scholars toured the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis and attended chapel there. They also visited Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington near Alexandria.

Earlier today, I discussed with them the function of Congress and how our legislative work gets done. They visited the Library of Congress, and had an excellent lunchtime seminar on the interrelationships between constitutional government, economics, and personal



freedom. And this afternoon they are meeting with U.S. Supreme Court Justice William H. Rehnquist from Arizona, who is discussing justice in America and answering questions about our court system and legal issues.

Throughout the remainder of this week, my congressional scholars will have indepth briefings at the Pentagon, State Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Treasury Department, and the British Embassy. They will attend a House session and meet with several Members of Congress, including Arizona Senator PAUL FANNIN. And they will visit the Smithsonian Institution and major historic sites, attend a concert at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, explore Georgetown, enjoy a moonlight cruise on the Potomac, and spend an evening with Mrs. Conlan and myself at home for a picnic dinner and further discussion.

The scholars program is being totally financed by private contributions, which this year have totaled more than \$25,000. This generosity on the part of many individuals and companies has provided transportation, lodging, and entertainment for the scholars. But more importantly, it has brought alive to them the beauty and vitality of our Nation's institutions and how they work to provide a better life for us all.

Following are the names of my 1974 congressional scholars and the schools they represent in the Fourth Congressional District of Arizona:

#### CONLAN SCHOLARS

Kelly O. Anderson, Maricopa High School.  
 Teddi L. Baird, Joseph City High School.  
 Mark D. Baker, Casa Grande Union High School.  
 Erin Barkley, Ray High School.  
 Bill O. Boyles, Brophy College Prep.  
 Maureen B. Brady, Sunnyslope High School.  
 Michael J. Buehler, Superior High School.  
 Ernest Calderon, Morenci High School.  
 Cheryl F. Cowan, Miami High School.  
 Darrell D. Done, Cortez High School.  
 Daniel J. Fairbanks, Thatcher High School.  
 Elvin L. Farr, Ft. Thomas High School.  
 Kathy L. Finnerty, Gerard High School.  
 Douglas H. Frazier, Arcadia High School.  
 Mary Lou Gentry, Duncan High School.  
 Genevieve A. Gray, Monument Valley High School.  
 Rossland C. Hall, St. Johns High School.  
 David Harvey, Alchey High School.  
 Mary Ann Hemstreet, Window Rock High School.  
 Wanda J. Hickenlooper, Young High School.  
 Denise J. Huebner, Scottsdale High School.  
 Gary A. Husk, Florence High School.  
 Royann Jordan, Phoenix Christian High School.  
 Renae Kellis, Snowflake High School.  
 Bobby O. Klassen, Ganado High School.  
 David B. Kluge, Apache Junction Senior High School.  
 Diane B. Kohn, Paradise Valley High School.  
 Leandro Lucio, Valley High School.  
 Jan E. Lindsey, Safford High School.  
 Jess A. Lorna, Santa Cruz Valley High School.  
 Frank McCord, McNary High School.  
 Terri M. McDermitt, Bourgade High School.  
 Glenn L. Miller, Saguaro High School.  
 Mary Ann Moore, Xavier High School.  
 Janice L. Mullins, Clifton High School.  
 Dawn C. Neisser, Chaparral High School.  
 Tod H. Norman, Camelback High School.  
 John C. Parker, Hayden High School.

Jeff Patten, Thunderbird High School.  
 Scott Powell, Pima High School.  
 Matthew S. Payne, Washington High School.  
 Steven A. Rabogliatti, Globe High School.  
 Darlene Rawlins, Show Low High School.  
 Ian Schmidt, Chinle High School.  
 Charles B. Sema, Winslow High School.  
 Walter (Gil) Shaw, Blue Ridge High School.  
 Cherri D. Stafford, Payson High School.  
 Carol C. Stroud, Moon Valley High School.  
 William (Jeff) Udall, Round Valley High School.  
 Lucinda W. Whiteaker, Central High School.  
 Susan E. Wuertz, Coolidge High School.

#### I WAS JUST 17 THEN

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, on April 1, 1974, I inserted in the RECORD the remarks before my subcommittee of our distinguished colleague from Florida, the Honorable CLAUDE PEPPER, with respect to H.R. 70, a bill to expand Federal assistance to the States for the education of handicapped children.

I called to the attention of my colleagues the fact that CLAUDE PEPPER had, in 1937, when he first entered the Senate, introduced a bill remarkably similar to H.R. 70.

On April 3, Mr. Speaker, a handicapped woman, Ms. Esther Odell of Reston, Va., wrote to me having just finished reading in the RECORD of Mr. PEPPER's 1937 bill. Said Ms. Odell:

I was just 17 then, and if this bill had become law, it strikes me that my whole life might have been more productive in every way, to my country, to my loved ones, and to myself.

And she continued:

It is heartbreaking to realize how many children's lives hang in the balance while legislators feel they even have the time to debate such a bill as you seem to have proposed.

Mr. Speaker, because Ms. Odell's letter is such a powerful and moving expression of the need for Congress to approve H.R. 70, the Education of Handicapped Children bill, I include her letter at this point in the RECORD.

RESTON, VA.,  
 April 3, 1974.

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs,  
 Rayburn Building,  
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. BRADEMAs: I have just read your remarks printed at the back of the April first (1974) Congressional Record, where you reported the progress of H.R. 70 and mentioned the bill sponsored in 1937 by Senator Pepper. I was just 17 then, and if his bill had become law, it strikes me that my whole life might have been more productive in every way, to my country, to my loved ones, and to myself. It is heartbreaking to realize how many children's lives hang in the balance while legislators feel they even have the time to debate such a bill as you seem to have proposed. I have not seen the bill, but descriptions of it seem to provide an opportunity to open doors that must remain closed unless handicapped children are given more help.

Having worked at many different jobs, I

realize that an individual even though partially paralyzed by polio—can earn a living on a competitive basis if given half a chance. Such an individual—partly because he or she cannot move around a lot—will put in many hours and a great deal of thought to a job which possibly an able-bodied individual would resent. I am not referring to "make-work" positions, but to the real world of employment. The curriculum in the schools should not be geared only to vocational or factory jobs, but to creative and career positions.

Please, Sir, do not lose hope in pushing your bill through. We need you for the future good of our country as well as for the Thank you. I wish I had known a bit more about legislation when I was 17 years old, but whatever I can do now will help future citizens to lead productive and useful lives. What can I do?

Sincerely,

ESTHER ODELL.

#### WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING ANNIVERSARY

### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, little did the Jewish combat organization—ZOB—realize on April 19, 1943, when it began its armed resistance against the Nazi troops in the ghetto of Warsaw that it was writing one of the bravest chapters in modern history.

Warsaw was for hundreds of years previous to the Nazi invasion of Poland the flower of Jewish civilization in Eastern Europe. Having seen the legacy of Nazi concentration camps elsewhere in Europe, Mordecai Anzelm, commander of the ZOB, decided that his outnumbered, hungry forces would battle to the death in an effort to secure their freedom. Coincidentally, the Warsaw uprising was launched in the season of Passover, one of mankind's earliest festivals commemorating freedom and opposition to any form of enslavement.

As we know, the Warsaw uprising ended with the slaying of over 56,000 Jews who had been forced into the ghetto and the devastation of over 800 acres. But the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto was no easy task. Many hundreds of Nazis were killed by the defenders, and the uprising was only quelled when Hitler ordered some of his most trusted units to destroy the defenders. The image of tanks pitted against desperate men flinging stones stands out as a sign of the odds in this last battle.

Some of the Jewish defenders of the ghetto lived to tell the story; some resettled in Israel. Understandably, the survivors of this ghetto and their children and their children's children are ever vigilant against other political forces which seek to root out the Jewish "strangers" in their midst. Whether they be Israelis defending their homeland, Russian Jews who defiantly wear the Star of David, or Jews in the United States who battle more sophisticated types of anti-Semitism, the heritage of the Warsaw ghetto has not been lost: Freedom is precious to the Jew and Jews everywhere must be tenaciously committed to their brethren.